

Connecticut Republicanism.

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AN

ORATION,

ON THE

EXTENT AND POWER OF POLITICAL DE-  
LUSION,

DELIVERED IN NEW-HAVEN,

*On the Evening preceding the Public Commencement,*

*September, 1800.*

BY ABRAHAM BISHOP.

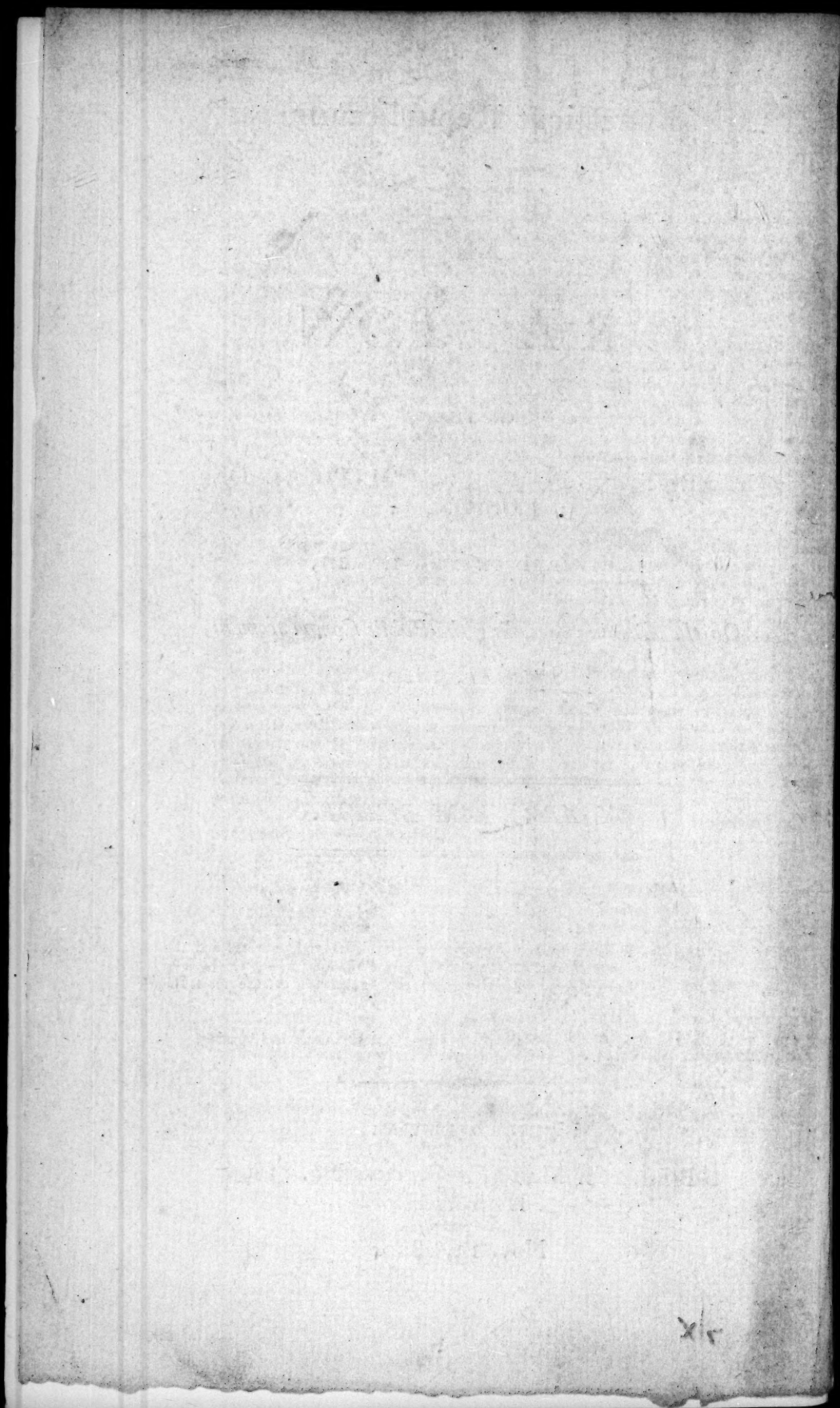
REPUBLICANS!—Ye have to contend against principalities and powers, and the rulers of the darkness of this world and spiritual wickedness in high places, with the prince of the powers of the air at the head of them.

Therefore let your loins be girt about, and your lamps trimmed and burning.

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## P R E F A C E.

**I**F our government has pursued the course dictated by the spirit of our revolution; if good government requires the subjugation of one half of the community; if republicans have deserved the lathes and contempt which have been most liberally dealt to them in this State for eleven years; or if the spirit of persecution has subsided: then the writer of these pages has been extremely unfortunate in the choice of his subject.

But Intolerance, with its hydra heads, still roams about the state, and no mercy is shewn to those, who doubt the wisdom of the present administration. The efforts of an individual are feeble when opposed to the phalanx which stand prepared to crush, in its infancy, freedom of enquiry and discussion. If these sentiments, claiming no high parentage, should fail of gaining the patronage of *numbers* in the state, they will be unable to endure even through the short period which generally bounds the existence of such ephemeral productions.

These pages present the corner-stone of an AMERICAN PALACE, and the dark vault where are to be entombed, in eternal sleep, the liberties and hopes of this, and future generations. The foundation of a MONARCHY is already laid in 6 per cent. 3 per cent. and deferred stock, in millions of civil list and indirect taxation\*. The aristocracies already formed, are to be the pillars of this magnificent building. The glory of this latter house is to transcend that of the edifice of freedom, which, erected on the ruins of palaces, lately presented a massy colonnade of human bones. What infant, in his nurse's arms, is to be the progenitor of an illustrious race of AMERICAN MONARCHS, is yet unknown.

Are such suggestions to be lightly regarded when it is now known, that a number of men, who have been our political leaders, were holding their meetings in the year 1787, to contrive ways and means for the establishment of what they termed, *A Confederated Monarchy*? When we read the speech of general Hamilton, in the Federal Convention, and now find him at the head of our army? When we hear our leading men avow, that this country can never be governed without an *Hereditary Monarch*? When we see the appropriate plans of *Monarchy* adopted by administration? When we read the federal papers filled with reflections on liberty and republicanism, and with praises of *Monarchical* government? When Fenno, the mouth-piece of the federal party, has just published a scheme of a *Federated, Presidential, Monarchical Aristocracy*?

In the following pages I have endeavored to represent *truly* the tendency of the leading measures of our government; and even if one half of my positions and conclusions be just, *a Monarchy is decidedly before us*. The men now in place have been the contrivers or advocates of these *measures*. If the people approve the *means* and the *end*, they will doubtless continue the *instruments* in operation; otherwise a new election will open to republicans a new and most desirable prospect.

Our southern brethren wonder that Connecticut, once the garden of liberty, should now appear to be the hot-bed of aristocracy—that Connecticut, internally the most democratic state in the union or in the world—a state, where the opinions of the

\* Indirect taxation was styled by the old Congress, ‘*The horror of all Free States.*’

people have governed for more than a century——where government is less expensive and energetic than in any other state——and where distinction of rank is hardly known, should be attached to expensive, energetic and aristocratic measures, tending to humble the people and to create odious distinctions: But the *people* of Connecticut have not deserved to lose the confidence of republicans: They are radically attached to the principles of 1776, and to the declaration of independence, and are mortal foes to hereditary monarchy; but by certain operations of federal policy, (as will be seen in the appendix) *the people* have no opportunity to express their opinions on federal men and measures.

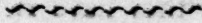
If atheism and modern philosophy prevailed in the state, there might be some fear of the final prevalence of aristocracy; but *there is not an atheist in the state, nor a single modern philosopher among the republican party.* Deism is not prevalent; yet there are deists in both parties, whose infidelity has originated from causes wholly unconnected with politics. It has been suspected that some of the leading clergy wish to combine Church and State; but the body of the clergy, though they have preached Robison and Barruel rather freely, have good intentions, and as fast as they shall discover *the tendency of our measures to be against religion*, they will become good republicans. In the state are some hypocrites, who carry their religion to market, and are willing to take pay for it in public offices and honors; yet the number of these is small and will probably decrease.

For eleven years freedom of the press and of opinion has been restrained; federal measures have been presented to the people, *highly colored and embellished with cuts*; an habitual confidence in the state representation has been extended to the federal representation: After the exertions of the revolutionary war, the people, habitually industrious, retired to their farms and occupations, and the calm, which naturally succeeds the turbulence of war, superinduced by federal opiates, has hitherto preserved them in a state of peaceful submission to the constituted authorities.

But a season has now arrived, when “a little more sleep, a little more slumber, a little more folding of the hands to sleep,” and they assuredly wake to a state of *political ruin* more dreadful to freemen than the ruins of empires. Our people are now rapidly declaring themselves on the republican side: The tendency of measures has roused them, and we shall finally prove to the world, that as Connecticut was among the *first to assert*, she will be among the *last to resign*, the blessings of equal government and the inestimable rights of man.



## Political Delusion.



ON the eve of a day set apart for a literary feast of fat things, I have judged that a plain dish would be most acceptable. Indeed had it been assigned to me to speak to you of Greece and Rome; of the inexhaustible treasures of Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic, or to have discussed the height and diameter of the antediluvians, or to have explained the cause why a black man is not a white man, or why an elm-tree does not bear apricots: you must have sat here in silence, and the spirit would never have moved me to address you. Avoiding literary discussion, I have selected as the theme of this occasion, THE EXTENT AND POWER OF POLITICAL DELUSION.

The *character* of delusion is most strongly marked at its first appearance in our world, when Satan (*Satan* that old serpent, now called "the arch-jacobin"\*) practised his deceit on our federal mother, saying to her, "For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then shall your eyes be opened and ye shall be as gods knowing good and evil." In the work of deceit Satan has in all ages been uniform; he begins by quoting the knowledge of God in proof of that which is false; he wishes to persuade men to do that which they ought to avoid; he promises them good, and they suffer evil; those, who follow his advice, find the earth cursed for their sakes; thorns and thistles spring up in place of fruits and flowers; by the sweat of their faces they eat their bread, till they return to the ground; and as for Satan, sooner or later he appears to those, whom he has deceived, literally cursed above all cattle. I shall now

\* See Mr. Lee's Sermon, preached at Colsbrough, July 4, 1800.



leave Satan to that class of men, whose professional business is to detect his delusions, with this mark, that I doubt much whether they have rightly understood his *political* character.

The *agents* of delusion are, the great, the wise, rich and mighty men of the world. These, acting with powers of substitution, are very sagacious in choosing, and successful in securing, fit instruments for their purposes. Delusion prepares his prime agents with charming outsidings, engaging manners, powerful address and inexhaustible argument. He furnishes them with an accurate knowledge of the heart, and opens all the avenues to the passions.

The *means* of delusion are, uniformly the walking in a vain show, hypocrisy assuming the garb of religion, pride of meekness, knavery of honesty, ambition of patriotism. As a full assumption of character is necessary to success, and as delusion naturally over-acts, you find the greatest impostors in our world to have appeared more holy, meek, honest and patriotic than other men.

The *object* of delusion is, to gain the wealth, honors and favors of men by cheap, false and insidious means.

The *subjects* of delusion are, the laboring and subordinate people throughout the world. Their toil goes to support the splendor, luxury and vices of the deluders, or their blood flows to satiate lawless ambition. Nearly the whole of Africa and a considerable part of Asia, are subject to the delusions of Europe: slaves in immense troops must sweat under a scorching sun to bear or follow the palanquin of a lordly master: slaves by ship-loads must be dragged from their homes to serve imperious tyrants; immense multitudes must be bowing to stocks and stones, or kneeling before images and lighted tapers, to gratify the zeal of impostors.

The *end* of delusion is, the elevation of the deluders to a condition of power, splendor and infallibility, and the reduction of the deluded from knowledge to ignorance,

from freedom to slavery, from wealth to want, from present enjoyment to a destitution of all things, and from future hopes to ceaseless doubt.

Having defined my subject I shall exclude from discussion all ancient delusions, from a persuasion that to us the present moment, the present character of man, the present form and pressure of the times are infinitely more interesting than all the past.

I might have entertained you with some of the light skirmishes of delusion in the ordinary walks of life; but have preferred to lead you at once into the political field, where he brings into general action all his forces and displays all his character.

Having no leisure to make long porches, or to take by house-row, the measures of our government, I shall begin with the COMMERCIAL SYSTEM, which, like a common hall, gives you access to all the rooms of the federal building.

When republicans\* complain of a Navy, of diplomatic corps, of Algerine tribute, or British treaty, the uniform reply of the agents of delusion is, "all these things are necessary to commerce, and commerce is the handmaid of industry; abridge our political arrangements, say they, and all your well-earned produce would perish—your ship-timber and ships would be of no value—your seamen would become towns-poor—your rope-walks go to decay, and your merchants become bankrupt!"

Now every well-informed merchant knows that there is not one word of truth in all this; yet as Delusion has forged the story for his benefit, he is disposed not to discredit it, and when such a plausible kind of things get a currency, they will pass like a well counterfeited bill, till by accident the deceit is discovered, by which time the counterfeiter has gained all his ends. Every reflec-

\* The terms "republican and democrat," are used synonymously throughout: because the men who maintain the principles of 1776, are characterised by one or the other of these names in different parts of the country.

ting man knows that if the most worthless produce in the world will attract our vessels to the most distant ports, laden with the staples of this country, then these staples would, from their intrinsic and unfailing value, together with the profits of the carrying trade, invite the merchants of those ports to come and purchase of us. At our own doors we can make better bargains than abroad; we lose nothing by dangers of sea, wastage, casualties or bankruptcy; we receive every thing at full weight and guage, and our articles are put off in the best possible order without any diminution.

But, if with free ports and commerce thus conducted, our merchants could not live, then they live now merely by virtue of certain advantages tendered to them by the government, every one of which takes a million of dollars out of your pockets in order to enable you to gain half a million in another way. If the carrying trade is valuable, and we retaining this trade by political arrangements secure it to our merchants, and yet Spain, Holland and Great Britain are willing to exchange their manufactures in their own ports for our produce, then surely our produce would be in high demand, and an object of supreme competition, if government would suffer the carrying trade to operate as a premium in favor of our market.

The fundamental proposition, viz. that separate from the present system, our articles would not be in market, is pointedly denied, and if this is false, the whole superstructure falls.

The real object is diametrically opposite to the ostensible one. The agricultural interest, instead of being helped, is vitally attacked. This charming commercial system, so sedulously and artfully addressed to the yeomanry of our country, is a system of indebtedness and eventual bankruptcy. Confining the carrying trade to ourselves, opens an infinite field of credit to the merchant. Millions of property, belonging to the farmers,



must constantly be in the hands of the merchants ; for if the avails of our produce are to come from all quarters of the globe, there must be an average credit given by the farmers till the returns can be made. This draws on to the water an immense quantity of property, and interests the farmers strongly in the success of the merchants whom they have trusted. This property on the water is within fiscal purview and control. Government has purposes to answer. The merchant is indirectly the collector of a great portion of the revenue. The merchant can lend ships and cargoes to government. The merchant can plan long, circuitous and hazardous voyages apparently at his own risk; but really at the risk of the farmer ; for all losses must eventually fall on those who trust. These arrangements lead up great capitals in trade, great bankruptcies and great fortunes. They fill the sea with vessels and sailors, valuable auxiliaries and reverberators to a naval system. This last being calculated to protect the merchants, secures their perpetual attachment, and they freely advocate the extraordinary expenses of an armament. Their influence is thrown directly in the scale opposed to the farmer, and government has thereby secured a number of capitalists to whom resort may be had in the day when grinding runs low at the treasury.

Before the adoption of this system silver and gold moved according to the laws of industry ; but now banks are introduced, giving to paper a forced and unnatural circulation, taking the command of the medium of all business from the agricultural interest,\* and yielding it wholly to the commercial.

\* Money ought to represent industry ; the farmer's dollars earned by labor do represent it : bank bills do not. It is hard on the farmer, that the man who earns nothing through the year, should be able with an indorsed note to raise in an hour, double the annual avails of his farm, and to glut the market with money at the very moment when the farmer is ready to bring his dollars to market. Directors of banks can make money scarce or plenty as they please ; but though banks are ruinous to the farmers, they are necessary to a forced commerce.

It is no wonder that in the complexity of this policy, the farmer is lost in the midst of paper bills, boundless credit, crowded harbors, princely estates, and made to cry out, O! the depth of the wisdom of administration! little dreaming that he has in fact paid and is paying annually the whole profits of the carrying trade, the whole of the Algerine tribute, the expense of all commercial treaties—of all the consuls abroad—the amount of all the losses by sea—of all bad markets, and of all navy expenses—that the money, which he pays, suffers many sweatings before it gets to the treasury, and that what he does not pay is placed on interest, and that the land from which he raises this produce, which excites such a fatherly care of government, is pledged for the payment of principal and interest, and that his children may always see the date and amount of the mortgage by calling on the surveyors of the revenue. Little short of miracle can redeem men from such masterly strokes of delusion.

This mercantile system leads up an appearance of immense prosperity, the reality of which is craftily ascribed to government; but individuals appear to the world most thrifty, when they are thriftily expending the price of their mortgaged estates: nations appear most busy and thriving in seasons of the greatest expense and public dissipation: for such occasions draw all the money into view and give it a rapid circulation. When a dollar changed owners once in a week it counted only for a dollar; but when by the magic power of a forced commerce it changes owners an hundred times in a week it counts for an hundred dollars. If all the property of a town like this were to be transported every day through all the streets, there would be great commotion and a great show of business and wealth, and the gaping world might admire the thrift of the place and might lend money on the credit of it. Just like such a farce is that of the great public prosperity now enjoyed. The people are not more industrious than they were before the re-

volution : they are certainly more extravagant, mortgages abound more on the records—including public and private indebtedness, *there never was a season before this when the people were so deeply involved.* Burn all your paper-bills and your paper evidences of debt, public and private, worlds full of which would not add one cent to the real wealth of any country, or collect the debts evidenced by these papers, and which now lie as a heavy weight on the houses, lands and industry of the people, and this vision of prosperity would vanish : but this delusion answers the political purposes of unsettling the public mind, of destroying frigid ideas of economy, and of making tolerable many public projections, which otherwise would be detested.

This commercial system presents to the world an immense tonnage, which not only fortifies the appearance of prosperity ; but affords employment to a numerous class of men on land, who must feel grateful for a system which yields them wealth ; and it employs a number of masters and mates, who must kiss the hand which feeds them ; and sailors, who are most valuable astringents in the ingredient of power, and may answer for lining to wooden walls : and delusion whispers that by these things all the money is saved among ourselves. Though this is among Delusion's weak tricks, yet it is too often successful. It has been well said that it will cost two ducats to keep one in prison. To the man, who is able to pay for money, it matters not whether that which is to fill his coffers be now in his own town, or in Madrid or Canton : his industry will draw it from the ends of the earth. If we lived on an isthmus or an island, the suggestion of saving the money might be more plausible ; but living in a country of immense extent, capable of employing more than ten times its number of inhabitants, capable of infinite internal defence, and of keeping tributary to us all nations so long as natural or artificial wants shall be known in the world, it is an idle



suggestion—and the time will come, when it will be hard to make the readers of history believe that Americans in the infancy of society, of settlement and agriculture, did seriously undertake to fight their way through nations, whom they could not buy nor bribe, to carry the necessities of life to the men of those nations who were perishing for the want of them, and then with a return-cargo of far less useful produce to fight their way home again—and that all this was done with the full and free consent of the men who raised the exports, and who could have sold them without hazard for a better price at their own doors.

Commerce, aided by banks, draws property into the hands of men without the medium of industry. Such men not knowing the earning of money are adventurous and extravagant. They become embarrassed—and nearly one half of the people in our populous cities are running after the other half in consequence of this embarrassment. The debtor walks quick when he is avoiding his creditor. The creditor moves quick after him. The bankrupt sells rapidly his stock on hand. The vendue-rooms receive the refuse. These are domestic scenes of prosperity! On the water we are losing ships and cargoes and lives, and to foreign courts are dancing attendance or paying tribute for these privileges.

On this commercial subject delusion is strong; it presents imaginary advantages, demonstrable on paper, but false in fact, and these can be presented in every variety and succession. Impressions are easily made: loss or gain equally stimulate the spirit of adventure. Commerce draws into its vortex one class of men after another, and when the farming interest yields decidedly to this fascinating system, but a few years elapse before commerce commands all the wealth of the country. A navy becomes necessary, and the same necessity which last year led up sloops of war, this year leads up frigates, and the next ships of the line; sloops can only beat off

gun-boats; frigates and ships can only meet equal guns: the principle of power demands that we be the most powerful; increased debt and taxes are inevitable; the enormous expense of supporting a navy\* justifies other enormous expenses. When a national debt is beyond redemption, the addition of a few millions is of little moment; it lightens the burden of the present generation; they and their talkmasters will soon be out of the region of murmuring. The next generation will open their eyes on a bright sun—fertile country—splendid cities—national debt—and though they may wonder for a time at the artificial evils of society; yet they will surely have philosophy enough to compose themselves under calamities which they cannot avoid, and to consider it as the lot of man that the evil shall be set over against the good, that man may literally find nothing after him. In that day the principles of our revolution will be either forgotten, or considered as the ravings of visionaries; the systems of great nations will be adopted in their extent. In that day will be no murmuring democrats, no deadly disorganizers: government will move strong, as did the Church of Rome, when the tortures of the Inquisition could supply the place of convincing argument, and the thunders of heaven be hurled at pleasure on the devoted heads of heretics.

Ask the merchants, can you support commerce and pay the expenses of its protection? They will readily answer, no. Then it is clear that commerce is not paying for itself; the people are paying for it more than it is worth; but the system of naval defence secures the mercantile interest; the clergy are gained by the confidence reposed in them and the smiles which they get for

\* There never was any want of pretences for subjugating a people. If it be true, that our articles are so useless that other nations will not come after them, and if we must have a navy to protect trade, be it so! Let us only know that we cannot live and be governed without the systems which we fought against, and we will give up freedom, and have glory, strength, wealth and monarchy in place of it.

their influence; the army and government printers and collectors and officers of all descriptions are secured by the treasury—and to support all these establishments, you, the people of the United States, have been paying more than 20,000 dollars a day ever since the new government has been in operation; that is, in eleven years you have paid more than eighty-three millions of dollars, and in the present year it is costing you more than 1,700 dollars an hour to support the public burdens. It goes from you in cents and small change, and the return of expenditures is in gross millions. The President's salary and the compensation to members of Congress, so often complained of, form but a very small part of the bill. The federal city, begun on a system rivalling in expense and magnificence ancient Babylon, has been a sink for your money. The military establishment and navy are immensely expensive.\* Your great men abroad need some pocket money. The Dey of Algiers can account for 24,000 dollars a year beside the frigate Crescent and some extras. Should you get involved in war, imperious necessity would demand new loans. Your houses and lands are appraised; you have paid one ground-rent for them, and they will be good security for any additional debt. The present system of measures will lead to war. You cannot keep a navy long afloat without receiving insults or provoking hostilities. You cannot mix with foreign courts and avoid foreign policy. When causes of discontent increase, ministers have found it their interest to engage directly in war. During the season of war, the minister has an army and navy at command—war requires expense, hushes clamor and veils in mystery all cabinet measures. I shall now open to you the appropriate delusions of the **WAR SYSTEM.**

War presents to all the country a commission to seize and carry to legal adjudication the commercial

\* See Appendix.



property of an adverse nation. War opens all the floodgates of the human passions. War calls into the employment of government an immense multitude. Contractors through all the mechanical arts pronounce a blessing on war. The grazier adores the administration. The legions attached to admiralty courts, insurers, dealers in stock, bankrupts and all men to whom change of times must be for the better, bless the government. The capitalist who has long kept his money for the public, blesses the occasion, and over them all the chaplain pronounces an hearty amen. In the midst of all, the straggling patriots, unwilling to be outdone by their brethren, bring their offerings of rags to the treasury, and from the midst of expense and national dissipation forth comes the government immensely rich in all the magnificence of paper.

Though Delusion has played this farce a thousand times, over, and has always successfully compassed the *means*, it has never concealed the *end*. That end is uniformly the degrading of morals and religion—derangement of business—increase of national debt, leading to a long train of public burdens—decrease of private and social happiness, and a certain sinking of the people beneath the civil, military and naval functionaries of this mighty farce.

The tribes of Africa fight, because Europeans will buy their prisoners. Cabinets wage wars, because by them they are sure of their object, which is to exalt themselves and to humble those who are beneath them. This has always been the case, and always will be, so long as the people give the reins out of their own hands, so long as they bestow more power on government than is absolutely necessary, so long as they suffer themselves and their opinions to be despised. Wars have been the means by which these cabinets have effected their purposes. The great, wise and rich men well understand the art of inflaming the public mind, and generally present at the outset *the delusive bubble of national glory*, a

thing in which nine tenths of society have no kind of interest ; but which well managed turns into crowns and diamonds in the hands of the blowers. Courtiers tell *slaves* that liberty is in danger, or that infidels abound and the church is in hazard, or of plots at home, or invasions and insults abroad. Courtiers' waiters echo the alarm. Court-telegraphs spread the sound. Court-casuits find it typified in the pentateuch. War is decided on ; armies are raised ; the legions, who depend on war for support, are all in motion ; the papers are full of news ; public curiosity is on the stretch. The cabinet, which in time of peace was occupied only in the means of internal order, has now to consult the balances of foreign governments—to receive letters weighing five ounces in ships of 500 tons sailing in ballast—is thronged with expresses ; great scenes are opening ; the naval armament, which but for this had been laid up in dry docks, and the army, which in time of peace was in no estimation, rise into importance ; prize-masters arrive with the ill-gotten wealth of honest adventurers. The country abounds with proof prints of admirals and generals, and naval engagements, forts stormed and all the dignified array of carnage and desolation.

Here Delusion opens batteries, which are never silenced till liberty and public happiness are gone forever ; for a war system is fatal to them both.

When courtiers tell you that such a system can alone preserve peace, fly or fight the delusion. Mark you that the man who learns the art of fencing in his youth is seldom contented with having received his lessons ; you will hear of him in a duel. An army or a navy well officered and manned is always restless in a state of peace : war must and will be had at some rate. After a few years of war and a few bullet-holes through admirals' hats and some flesh-wounds and broken limbs, the bill for services becomes greater than can be paid with money ; honors, stars and ribbons, or pensions, must go

towards an instalment. A nation which makes *greatness* its polestar can never be free: beneath national greatness sink individual greatness, honor, wealth and freedom. But though history, experience and reasoning confirm these ideas; yet all-powerful Delusion has been able to make the people of every nation lend a helping hand in putting on their own fetters and rivetting their own chains, and in this service Delusion always employs men too great to speak the truth, and yet too powerful to be doubted. Their statements are believed—their projects adopted—their ends answered, and the deluded subjects of all this artifice are left to passive obedience through life, and to entail a condition of unqualified non-resistance to a ruined posterity.

To this delusive war-system are we indebted at the present time for the redundancy of national gasconade. When the pompous statesman, safe in the cabinet, insults the brave men of all nations and cries to arms! when boasting words come from great generals, who never saw service but on parade-day, and whose whole courage lies in the seal which graces their fair-weather commissions, depend on it that some poor deluded men are to bleed. When by accident or force one of our infant navy succeeds in capturing the adverse vessel, straight we are told that the sun shines not on a people, who bid as fair as we do to be a great maritime nation. *Just like the boy, who because he has caught a tame rabbit, imagines that he is to be a mighty sportsman.* Why are not the people told that several of the maritime powers of Europe have in every year discovered instances of prowess superior to ours: \* that their ships are larger, stronger and better manned, and that at least a century must elapse and 100,000 lives of Americans be lost, beside the after-bills of wounding and dismemberment, before we can expect to be on a footing with the most powerful

\* The British navy contains now and then as brave a man as Truxton, and it is hopeful that all our revolutionary courage is not pent up in any single man.



nation—and that this footing must always be sustained by an enormous expense of blood and treasure—that naval glory is at best uncertain—that privates must bleed by thousands for the glory of admirals, commodores and post-captains, and that the only glory to which the sailor or marine can arrive, is to have his name published in the papers and against it, “*thigh badly fractured, since amputated and likely to recover*”, and in a few months after published again, “*bravely fighting in the main-top, cut in two by a chain shot,*”\* and just under it, “we are happy to announce that *though not quite successful this time; yet the admiral and officers are in high spirits, and having put into Jamaica to refit,*† intend to look at them again. Delusion, these are thy trophies!

But admiral Harvey has said that our 44 gun frigates were 74's in disguise! well perhaps he had heard that they cost as much as 74's, or that under the guise of these frigates was concealed a plan of an immense navy, the expense of which would eternize our national debt and ensure a perpetuity of energetic government. But our ships are not only strong as mountains, they are swift as eagles, captain Tryon says so himself: and not only strong and swift; but so full of courage, “that men are run through the body for looking pale,” says lieutenant Sterret. Surely all these things might have been omened from the success attending their launching.

The sun rises with unusual splendor, and strange to tell, *it rises in the east!* The birds chaunt their matin songs. Out bounces from his bed that wonder of all wonders—once a boat-builder, afterwards a ship-wright, now a federal navy artichect. Formerly a ship-wright

\* Hail, Columbia, happy land!

† Putting into St. Kitts, to refit decayed appetites has exposed many of our vessels to capture and *payment of salvage*; for the entertainments of that modern Capua have often closed seasonably to enable our armed vessels to achieve a recapture to the great emolument of the protectors of our commerce and the glory of our marine service.

might have built a ship merely by virtue of his skill; but now if it be not constructed by *federal* axes, adzes and mallets, wielded by *federal* hands, it will certainly sink. Straight collect from all quarters the ingenious men who by force of iron bolts and cramps have been able to keep wood together, and all those labourers who conveyed the timber and plank from where it grew to where it did not grow. Soon all the country is collected—the adjacent houses and fences are lined with beauty and strength—old Neptune with his trident walks forty miles up a river to see the show—every heart palpitates in unison, and prayers are sent up for success. With admirable skill every thing has been prepared, and with an easy graceful motion the ship glides on to the bosom of the waters, which receive the present from the earth with humble gratitude. At this moment the fish throughout the ocean thrill with rapture, and the ships of hostile nations receive a shock evincive of their danger—the attending throng fill the air with shouts—the little hills on every side rejoice, and the mountains echo the scene.\*

Surely after such a launch a ship ought to be stronger and swifter, and fuller of brave men than all the other ships on the ocean. A few more such delightful launches will launch this country from liberty to slavery, from a republican to a monarchical government. The great distinctions, enormous expenses and cruel wars, which navies lead up, are all calculated to destroy a condition of equal rights, and to sacrifice private competence and social happiness on the 'altar of national greatness. Now, if all this scenery of gasconade was a mere sport, no great harm might follow from it. There might be some expense about it and nations might consider us cowardly, just as we consider an individual cowardly, who is always boasting of his own courage; but even in this *miserable* work, Delusion is playing a deep

\* If any should doubt the accuracy of this picture of a launch, let them compare it with the Boston original.

game. All this boasting actually amuses the people and by degrees they get habituated to an idea that a powerful navy is a very respectable thing, as well as a good defence to commerce. To the tune of "hearts of oak are our ships, hearts of oak are our men,"\* have thousands of brave British seamen danced into eternity; and the wealth, freedom and private independence of the nation have not long survived them.

I am aware that the frigate John Adams, and the brig Pickering may, like the Royal George and the Pitt-East-Indiaman, make certain names immortal as plank and spikes—and the Merrimack, the Connecticut and the Philadelphia gun-boats may attach the people of certain districts to the success of the navy; yet though these are very pleasant things, a republican will hardly be reconciled to them while he regards even the naming of the ships as among the hair-strokes of Delusion.

The army has not been favored with occasions capable of exciting any very pompous encomiums—but it is in proof before the public that the inspector-general, while a clerk in a compting-house, accepted a challenge which was sent to his master, and behaved bravely though he did not fight. This proves conclusively that he is the *bravest* man in the world, and that Buonaparte, Moreau and Massena, ought to hide their diminished heads; but if government did not know of this compting-house story at the time of appointing him—I am unable to assign the reason of his being placed over the heads of experienced patriot generals born in our own country. But the army, tho' they did not fight, stood their ground boldly in their cantonments—Buonaparte and his army, whom they were raised to crush, being less than 8,000 miles distant from them

\* Captain Truxton writes to the Secretary about our (naval) *thunder*, and a toast was given at the eastward, "The mountains where sleep the future *thunders* of America." I say "may their sleep be the sleep of death;" But, why cannot these people say *powder* and *saltpetre*? our cannon are loaded with powder and ball; not with thunder and lightning.



through the diameter of the earth. To democratic eyes there was no prospect of his visiting us, except he perforated the earth with his army, and like Baron Trenck, watched an occasion to *unearth* himself; yet had he arrived, they would doubtless have given him a warm reception: but for a short time only were they kept in the field: the French did not arrive: the army was disbanded. I have thus turned my periods much as they did theirs. Some have said that this army was raised to ensure the success of certain measures, or to influence elections, or to keep the democrats in awe, or to enable general Hamilton to exemplify his declaration that *our constitution was a mere temporary expedient, and that this country could never be governed without an hereditary monarch*—these speculations I wave, in order to remark to you,

That however plausible may be the arguments of Delusion on the subject of an army, a country can never be free unless it depends for protection on the body of the people, whose rusty gun-barrels can send certain death from a distance to every bird or beast fleeing through the air or on the earth. These are the men who will always fight bravely for their altars and their homes; but how absurd is it to rely for defence on men, who care not for altars, and who have no homes! The only earthly objection to reliance on the body of the people is, that with arms in their hands they might repel *domestic* aggressions.

If the present state of things shall continue, you will soon be told that bright gun-barrels are more respectable than rusty ones, and that our own guns, made by federalists at 13 dollars, are surer of their aim than foreign guns of equal quality bought at 6, and that thus all the money is saved.\* Soon it will be polite to level your piece at your enemy only breast-high, and not to take

\* Here Delusion generally conceals one argument, viz. 'that domestic contracts strengthen the men in place.'

aim, following the example of the British soldiery ; for if you take aim, say they, it is murder ; but if you fire away at random 30 rounds of his majesty's powder and one of them takes full effect, why the man is dead ! but he had a fair chance for his life. Soon it will be deemed scandalous for a man to be fighting in his country's defence behind a tree or a stone wall. No ! he must join the standard, be dressed in uniform, and if mortally wounded, must languish sweetly into eternity under the notes of drums and trumpets. Thundering noises must drown the cries of your brethren and children in the agonies of death. No father to watch the symptoms of decaying life ! no mother to drop a tear over a dying son ! no sister to stretch out the hand of faithful affection and to soften the pillow in the moment of dissolving nature !

These are scenes of standing armies. Should our nation ever advance so far, as, after having presented a government wholly variant in detail from that which was contemplated by the people, should one party violently hold to itself all power and oppress the other party ; should they discover a want of confidence in the people and even that they despise their opinions ; should they take the people's money to buy guns and bayonets and slaves to keep them under ; rest assured that the more intelligent among the oppressed will rouse, they will remonstrate loudly, they will continue to remonstrate till they are imprisoned : then if power should be extended to the taking of life, they will employ the precious remnant of days between sentence and execution to prepare lessons which posterity shall read with admiration, when their oppressors shall be laid in inglorious dust.

Every attempt to place the defence of the country on other ground than on that of the bravery and integrity of the people ; every attempt to create great distinctions of rank ; all acts of intolerance in the ruling party ; all expressions of contempt on public opinion, are so

many approaches to that dreadful order of things. In this country you can never make a host of great men without a host of little ones : these last cannot be produced without oppression. The people may bear oppressions gradually and to a certain point ; but if the impetuosity of the lordlings shall push it beyond that point, the people whom they now call federal, and who have been such merely by an honest misplaced confidence, will find themselves betrayed, and though not among the *first* will be found among the *firmest* avengers of their wrongs.

In the delusions of the commercial and war systems I have presented two very powerful aristocracies—both deriving strength, emolument and exclusive privileges from the government ; both operating with immense force in favour of national greatness and against the interests of the body of the people.

Of the funding system I can only say as of the great fire in London, *'tis past beyond recall* ; it is an awful calamity ; it has ruined thousands ; but this system has also led up an aristocracy more numerous than the farmers-general in France, more powerful than all others, because it combines the men of wealth and gives efficiency to all the rest.

These aristocracies sink the people. They can stand alone against kings or presidents and courts : but when the great, rich, wise and mighty among their brethren can be drawn, through an extended system of favor, to operate against them, they are in imminent danger ; and to crown this danger,

Delusion associates with principalities and powers those who profess to be officers of a kingdom, not of this world ; they pray and preach for measures ; they, in their most sacred services, offer incense to the great talents, tried patriotism and celestial virtues of the mighty men in place ; they baptize your children and follow the remains of your friends to the grave ; and they take



your weak moments to persuade you that the president and his party are as a munition of rocks to the church.

We have heard that the national religion of England has been held in requisition to support the government, and that the Romish religion has been employed to the same effect in all Catholic countries. There test acts, oaths and inquisitions, have been so many state-engines to subordinate mankind to the great and little tyrants, who for centuries have held society in bondage; but surely the good sense of Americans is ready to repel the first attempts to bind us with ecclesiastical fetters, and to say to the clergy, "your business is to teach the gospel; the sheep will never thrive, if the shepherd, instead of leading them to green pastures, is to be constantly alarming them with the cry of wolves."\*

How much, think you, has religion been benefited by sermons, intended to show that Satan and Cain were jacobins? How much by sermons in which every deistical argument has been presented with its greatest force as being a part of the republican creed? Is this, men of God, following the precept, "feed my sheep, feed my lambs?" The people, instead of being alarmed lest religion should suffer under a new administration, ought to be infinitely solicitous to wrest the protection of it from those who are using it as a state engine. The kingdom of heaven now suffereth political violence. Think you that the bishop of Ephesus, if now with us, would have left the care of souls to ascertain the number of votes which his favorites could get for a seat in congress? Would Paul of Tarsus have preached to an anxious listening audience on the propriety of sending envoys? I ask these questions seriously, because on this subject the people feel seriously, and because here Delusion is playing a most cruel game.

Have you not read that the head of the church will sustain his own cause, and that this cause will never be

\* Make your people good christians, and they will be valuable subjects.

perfected, till wars and rumours of wars shall cease from under the whole heaven? The Captain of salvation is not so weak as to need an army and navy and a majority in congress to support his cause. The systems of enmity, pride, vice and abandonment, which characterise all modern governments are hostile to religion.\* The Saviour would be ill received in levees, in fields of battle, or on board of hostile ships. He takes no delight in the flowing robes and masquerade dress of the lords spiritual. The morals of courts and camps never rise up before his throne as sweet incense. Courts and camps have in modern ages been the hot-beds of immorality, the nurseries of infidelity. That religion, which you so highly value, is suffering a gradual, certain and painful extermination, by the very means which affect to support it. While every nerve is stretched to obtain wealth and greatness, that cause, which began in poverty, and thrives best in the shades and retirements of life, must mourn. Our great political arrangements are like so many armaments against religion;† yet the men who oppose them are denounced atheists, and no proof of their atheism is required but their opposition to federal measures.

I shall not in this place pursue further this article of clerical delusion;‡ but my respect for well-starched bands and fashionable surplices, will never restrain me from presenting it to your marked disapprobation.

In the profession of the law Delusion has secured to government an aristocracy highly intelligent and operative; and to these is entrusted the ladder of promotion, which they hold with as much power and claim of prescription as the pope holds the keys of St. Peter; and

\* The precept of the Prince of peace to his followers is, "put up thy sword into the sheath."

† Christianity has suffered more by attempts to unite church and state, than by all the deistical writings.

‡ This article is designed to extend just so far as the observation of every intelligent man would carry it; viz. to that class of clergy, who *improperly* employ religion to serve political purposes.

in these northern states you find lawyers on every round of it, ascending and descending, as were the angels of God in the vision of Jacob: though the two classes of characters are upon very different business. Though in this profession the habits of acquiring property and the indiscriminate defence of right and wrong might seem to disqualify for the business of legislation; yet Delusion has impressed it upon the people, that those who talk fluently must be knowing—and that through much debating cometh truth: hence these men are the first in market for congress and the offices of government—and excellent stuff for transportation to foreign courts; and it has been lately discovered that a thorough knowledge of the law will qualify a man\* to be secretary of the war department.

All these aristocracies and measures which I have noticed, correspond exactly with the systems of monarchical government. At the end of eleven years, the American nation (formerly called the United States) have with great industry got into a good state of preparation for an hereditary monarch. Mr. Lyman tells us, that 'the ruling party is united in their *object*, though divided as to the *means*—the first is for bold strokes, the last for address and reasoning.' We will not run in debt to this defunct federalist for a definition of this object. It cannot be a republican government; *that* the people have long prayed for in vain. It cannot be to get more money out of the people; for you, federalists, are now sunk up to your necks in their pockets. It cannot be to send more ambassadors and consuls abroad; for they have already glutted every market. It is not to fund more debt; all claims have been deluged with the liberality of government. Why the object is to crush opposition: these two segments of federalism, after having made arrangements obnoxious to one half of the country, are to crush that half, and then

\* Mr. Dexter.



the first chapter is completed ; but they are united in another object, viz. an energetic, aristocratic, monarchic government, which can move without control ; both parts are united to subjugate the republicans, and now call for a few years more to complete the work.\*

My evidence of the existence of such an intention on the one part, (which must be the intention of the other if they are united) might result from the declaration of general Hamilton already quoted, or from a declaration of president Adams to the same effect;† for these men know precisely what the leaders are seeking : but I choose to rely for proof on the complexion of federal measures already submitted. We have a sure key to the *feelings* of the Federal party in their joy at the supposed capture of Moreau's army ; their triumphs on the success of Nelson ; their exultation at the infamous and perjured story of Barbaczy, that the directory had caused the murder of their own envoys at Rastadt ; their strong affection for Suwarrow ; their zeal for the success of the British arms—and for the humiliation of republicans in France, Holland and Ireland. Every thing abroad which looked like the downfall of freedom was published and echoed here with triumph.

If personal declarations, public acts, and federal papers can be relied on, we have a strong party in this country, who wish for a season when congress shall be opened with a speech from the throne to my lords and gentlemen—they wish to have the papers announce that the princess royal was at the theatre—that the young prince had fallen from his horse and received a slight contusion in the joint of one of his fingers, which had been declared by one of his majesty's surgeons not to be mortal ; that the carriage of the gentleman usher of the black

\* If it be true, as some say, that a new administration could not change the present system, then I agree with the advocates of present measures, that we ought to have an hereditary monarch. Our aristocracies need a monarch to keep them in check, and our plans need a monarch to direct them, and slaves to pay for them. These plans and republicanism cannot live together.

† That the people will not be happy till their chief magistrate is hereditary.

rod had been broken down, but without accident ; or they wish to hear of brilliant levees and splendid drawing-rooms, and if any insane man should happen to shoot at the precious royal pageant, they would have all the bulbous marquisses and bedizened earls with the whole bevy of dukes, viscounts and lords run to see who should first gain the senate-house and announce in faint and almost breathless accents to the lords temporal and spiritual, the knights of the woollack, "*my lords, the king has been shot at !*" \* just God, and have not thousands, yea millions of his subjects not only been shot at, but shot and killed for his cause ? have not the decks of his ships of war been paid over with the blood of dying agonizing man ? *my lords, the king has been shot at !* Thousands fell in battle† to gain him his crown, tens of thousands to support his dignity ; millions have endured hardships and death to supply the splendors of his throne and the artificial wants of the sycophants who surround it—*my lords, the king has been shot at !* by the politics of that king thousands of families have been deprived of their head and support—mourning, lamentation and woe have been heard in every part of his dominion—the east and west Indies, and the United States have been made so many fields of blood, even the ocean has been swelled with the blood of murdered man—carnage on the continent has furnished only the interludes of royal cruelty ; while the cries and tears of widows and orphans, of sacked towns and a convulsed world, which dared not be expressed on earth, have risen up in memorial before God—*my lords, the king has been shot at !* and if all the king and emperors of the earth, with all their minions

\* This shooting and stabbing of kings is a useless business. Brutus stabbed Cæsar ; Cæsar fell ; but the spirit of domination survived. Ravillac and Damiens aimed their daggers at kings. Charlotte Cordé stabbed Marat ; but their daggers could not assassinate pride in the human heart. If the next tyrant succeeds with equal powers, in vain has the dagger been steeped in blood. *Abridge the powers of rulers, and you gain the object which no deadly weapon can reach.*

† "The poor beetle, which we tread upon, in corporal suffering, feels a pang as great as when a giant dies."

could be shot and deposited in one grave, all the republicans throughout the earth might say, "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord; and all the royalists might assemble about the grave, and howl and lament, saying, here lies all that was mortal of his Turkish majesty, who was once called "shadow of God, brother to the sun and moon, disposer of all earthly crowns!" here lies mixing with common earth, the defender of the faith with his most christian majesty! here lies the emperor of Russia with the kings of Spain and Denmark! and the king of the Romans, with the king of the Goths and Vandals, the great prince of Finland! with the knights of the star and garter, and the red eagle and the golden lion! here lie disregarded the keys of St. Peter with cardinals' bonnets and golden crosses! here lie the generalissimos and admiralissimos of our world!

*Was man made but a little lower than the angels, and yet has he sunk so low as to stoop to such slavish mockery?*

Sleep on ye who, when alive, by your delusions, made the earth one great aceldama; the resurrection will wake you to lessons, which you never learnt nor taught on earth.

Having discussed the artful means, and dreadful end of political delusion, I shall now mark to you in distinct characters the AGENTS OF DELUSION. A question is often proposed, how it is possible that our greatest and most pious men should betray us? I answer, because you have every thing to lose and they every thing to gain. Who under the ancient government of France deluded the people and held them in vassalage? the greatest men, the most pious men! Who hold in subjection the people of Russia, Germany and Poland? the greatest and most pious of men! Who in England delude the people with dreams of national prosperity in the midst of national



bankruptcy? the lords spiritual and temporal! Who have been filling the world with desolating wars for many centuries? the dignitaries of church and state: men whose elevated birth or talents have raised them to elevated stations, and given them an immense influence over the people. Wealth and talents are like the mines of Peru to crowned heads: they know well how to seek, alchymize and improve their treasures. The tendency of all governments is towards monarchy: distinction of rank is among the first objects. When the leaders have compassed this, the body of the people sink into a stupid mass, to be thereafter ranked as in the first class of cattle, to be driven to the military slaughter-houses, to be shipped abroad for foreign consumption, or to be dragging about their hated lives at home, subject to the lash and command of imperious lords, raised from nothing, by the power of delusion practised on themselves.

Greatness and littleness are only ideas of comparison: as the base of the mountain is in the depth of the valley; so the base of great men is in the lowness, poverty, ignorance and humility of the people. Pride stimulates the knowing to be great: power furnishes the means. When they would enslave the people, they present to them pictures of liberty; when they would impoverish them, they present pictures of wealth; when they would lead them to war, they present pictures of peace and security. Delusion can never succeed by exhibiting unadorned fact. Even the powers of reason and eloquence, which may be turned to infinite good, are often devoted to the production of infinite evil. When the British treaty was in discussion, had the cool reason of the country been addressed, that instrument had never been ratified; but when an eloquent statesman,\* pushing beyond this cold region, addressed the passions of the country, alarmed the farmer with fears of danger, and roused the merchant by hopes of indemnity, *he gained attention*; when

\* Mr. Ames.

he presented "on the sea coast vast losses uncompensated; on the frontier, Indian war; on our territory, actual encroachment; national discord and abasement," *he wrought strong impressions*; but when fathers were called to witness the corn-fields fattened with the blood of their sons and mothers; to hear the war-whoop waking the sleep of the cradle, *he became irresistible*; and to the tune of such harmonious songs the people of every country are in danger of dancing away their rights. When every measure fatal to liberty can be made to appear conducive to it, their is need of infinite vigilance. Our great men are ready enough to preach to us peace and safety, even while they are leading us into systems, which will ensure to the earth a drenching of human blood through all generations, and will waft us to the found of the war-whoop from all the military nations of the earth.

These great men, who are to gain by every system injurious to freedom and equal government, are the *best informed* men in society. They are well versed in languages and history and political science, and are able to say *more* and argue *better* on the wrong side of the question than the people are on either side of it. In all governments they are retained in favor of measures, if not by offices and bribes; yet by hopes of office, of emolument, of honors and influence. All their hopes are pledged on a perfect understanding of every part of the subject. Their passions combine with their interests to make them eagle-eyed and diligent to know what the people will bear; to watch the fit moment; to attack the weak side, and to make entry wherever they find a loose clapboard. Such men harangued the country at the opening of our government, by telling them "that the people would be sovereign; that the poor would be favored; that the agricultural interests would be held sacred and especially *that taxes would be light*." But when a heavy debt was created, ostensibly from motives of justice to

the foldiers, though few had any interest in it, the air was filled with protestations of gratitude and honesty.—The people were indignant ; but these artful men silenced the rising murmurs. Delusion sat aloft and smiled at the subtilty of her sons.

These men can prove conclusively that a national debt is a blessing or a curse ; that an army destroys or cherishes freedom ; that the friends of government are the guardian angels of liberty, and that the opposers are a part of Satan's chosen legion. They can prove that the people virtually chose electors, when the men, chosen to *prescribe the manner* of the people's choosing, say\* that they are the people, and will choose for themselves. They can prove that counsellors † and members of congress, chosen by men who never saw nor knew them, are more cautiously and judiciously chosen, than if their constituents were their own neighbors ; because in the last case partiality or passion might influence, which never could be the case when they know nothing about them. ‡ They can prove that the country grows rich, in proportion to the taxes paid ; just as a trench grows wide, in proportion to the lands taken from it.

Subtle arguments, well directed and eloquently enforced, sometimes lead men astray on questions of mere right and wrong. Shall we then wonder that men should be deluded on subjects far more complicated ?

The end to be answered by these arguments is immense ? it compasses all the objects at which delusion has been aiming ever since it appeared in Eden. Do

\* The constitution of the U. S. declares, that each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof shall *direct*, a number of electors, &c. By the word *state*, is meant *the people of the state*. The word *legislature*, cannot be mistaken—a plain man would expect that our legislature would appoint some mode for the people to choose ; but he might expect in vain. Neither the people nor the legislature will choose them. A few *wise* men in the legislature will choose them, and they will cause the *weak* men (if any such should be found in the precincts of that house) to vote according to orders.

† See Appendix.

‡ Here reference is had to the state's voting at large (instead of voting by districts.)



you see any wordly motives in these eloquent patriots ? Have you never known that a director of a bank wishes for a large capital to be subject to his control ? that a judge is pleased with an extension of his jurisdiction ? that a general is anxious for an increase of the army establishment ? and that a sea-captain likes an addition of tonnage and guns to the ship which he is to command ? These men, who talk thus persuasively to you either are, or expect to be, sharers of the power which they wish you to delegate ; or trustees of the confidence which they wish you to repose ; or managers of the money which they wish you to pay. Hence their zeal : hence their persuasive eloquence ! If you seem to doubt them they will ask, are not we of you ? are not our interests the same as yours ? *They are indeed, of you : so is the oak, which shades all the smaller trees and draws its nourishment from their roots, a part of the grove. They are of you : they tread the earth which you cultivate ; they feed on the luxuries which your industry supplies, and if an earthquake should swallow the contry, they must condescend to sink with you ; but by circumstances of fortune, birth or superior endowments of mind, or better education they have ceased to be as you ; their political condition is immensely different from yours : they are to govern, you are to be governed. They are well-born, you are base-born !*

Who are the men constantly praising the measures of government ? These great, well-born ! all interested in the subjects of their praises ; all craftsmen, who live by making images for the worshippers of the great goddess ; or those really *base-born* men, who have been in the habit of following these great men, faithfully, as hounds do the horn. These wise, pious leaders are crafty enough to speak to their followers truly and rationally on common subjects and by this they gain their confidence ; like the retailer, who, wishing to get cent. per cent. profit on articles not well understood, will sell his pins and

needles for less than prime cost. Multitudes of men, whose rights are daily abridging, follow on in admiration of government. They are made to believe that religion is attacked; that the French are coming upon us; that the democrats are raising an army, or that the rays of presidential favor, after melting down all the great men above them, may finally honor them with a scorching. A great temptation with the base-born is, that by thus doing they keep the track of the great, dignified and wealthy; exactly the company which despises them and which they ought to avoid. If among these base-born should be any abstract philosophers, who seeing that great beasts devour little ones, and great fish the smaller, and are willing to devote themselves by hecatombs to the rapacity and gluttony of these great men, I wish them many consolations as they are experiencing the work of mastication and digestion. Surely devoured they will be, provided their learned, pious, juggling leaders, should serve them as such men have served their followers in every age of the world.

The uniform language of these great men is, 'a little more patience, a little more money, in a short time *sunbeams* will be in abundance,' yet never was such a promise realised. When Delusion is detected and disappointment succeeds, it sometimes happens that an heroic patriot dare to say, as Tell\* to Gessler, 'Tyrant, this arrow is for thy heart'—but 'tis stupid to bear and suffer voluntarily, or like Carthusians to beat ourselves, till excess of pain stimulates to vengeance on the system. A free people, would always continue free, if they were as vigilant as their rulers; but a dormant acquiescence will forever land them in servitude. Single man is depraved; uncontrolled he would be intolerable. Men placed together without restraint, and made strong with power and money, will usurp.

\* Hero of the revolution in Switzerland, anno 1300.

But say these great men, 'It is impossible for the men in power to usurp: our government is well surrounded by a constitutional fence.' I ask, what avails a fence against a herd of deer? That constitution\* is perhaps as well wrought as language would admit; but language is very elastic. The men, whose interest it is to stretch it to the extent, are, or have made themselves, the judges of it. They know well the force and power of every word; the east, west, north and south, of every semicolon, and can extract power from every dash or afterism. They have mostly been practitioners in this work, and understand it as the engineer understands the force of his ordnance.

That constitution delegated powers calculated for the contingencies of centuries; but it is a singular fact, that all those contingencies have occurred in the course of eleven years of peace, and that these great men actually proceeded, under the power of raising armies expressly confined to congress, to provide that an army of 80,000 men might be raised *at the pleasure of the president*. As well might they have said 800,000, or have left the number wholly indefinite, or they might have made a general law that the president of the United States should always exercise the functions of the legislature under this article. They might have gone further and enacted laws which, like the collects of the Romish ritual, would have answered all purposes, and then have ordained that the president might bring into operation those laws, whenever he judged best, and then have adjourned without day. These great men made a sedition act; which, however constitutional in terms, was unconstitutionally and basely directed towards placing one class of our citizens at the feet of the other. They made an alien act, which was a very ingenious thing; but it would not go! And finally

\* The republican interest is firmly attached to the constitution: part of them from a persuasion of its excellence: they rest from a belief, that it is necessary to our political existence, and that an attempt to alter it or substitute another in its place would be hazardous.



having exhausted their other powers, they raised a battery against the remonstrances of the people, manned by a committee of privileges\*; and began to work *secretly* under the general clause, empowering them, ‘to make all laws, which should be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers, vested by the constitution in the government of the United States or in any department thereof.’ This, as they were about to work it, was to operate as a wide open gate, out of this enclosure which was so well fenced. They even attempted to take from the legislatures the power, which these last *had wrested from the people*, of choosing electors. The machinery of this bill was perfect; but it would not go!

Well, say these great men, the constitution is not yet violated: and, let me say, on your vague principles it never can be violated: but the constitution *is in fact* violated, whenever an act is passed without the motives or causes, which that constitution contemplated as the basis of such act: for example, the constitution says, “you may borrow money on the credit of the United States; may coin money, raise and support armies; provide and maintain a navy; appoint ambassadors;” now if money is unnecessarily borrowed, or coined at great expence and without occasion; war declared; armies raised and navies provided without just cause; if ambassadors are sent abroad to see whether water is fluid; what are the expences of living abroad; and what a wicked world we live in; surely, in all these cases the constitution is violated; *for the power is exercised under circumstances which will not warrant its exercise*. Even if the constitution had said “do whatever your hands find to do with all your might;” yet this would not have sanctioned the enactment of one useless, oppressive or intolerant law, nor have justified the waste of a cent of public money, nor the imposition of one unnecessary tax.

\* See proceedings of the Senate in the case of Duane.

It is Delusion's self which is constantly crying to you that the constitution is your sacred bulwark and that it is yet inviolate. You, the people, must be the bulwark of that constitution, or it will never preserve your rights : your sentiments, your actions, your very souls must animate that constitution and give life and effect to its language. When the spirit of the people is lulled by the soft zephyrs of Delusion into security in the lap of the constitution ; when it relies on inanimate paper for security of rights, that people is in the first stage of slavery. Of what avail think you was the *magna charta* of Great Britain, to the millions who have been pressed into naval or military service ; to the authors and printers, who have perished in dungeons, or to the tens of thousands, who for asserting some privileges under the *magna charta* of the great God, have been transported to Botany-Bay, or suffered a gibbet at home ? yet this *magna charta*, this precious boon of a king, benignantly restoring to the people one half of their rights, has been kept *literally inviolate*.

In a free government the rulers must resign their pride, vanity and avarice ; and in consideration of the trust reposed in them *must make sacrifices*, in order to yield to the people the blessings of a republic : but our rulers are not tempered to such bargains : they like the money, the power, the titles and distinctions ; but *avoiding the sacrifices*, are pushing hard to have the substance of aristocratic government under the form of a republic.—Hence their constant demands for energy to crush opposition ; but the seeds of opposition are sown in the cabinet.

There is a stout hardy race of men in this country, who fought and paid for a republic. They have *learned tactics* which will enable them to out-general your oblique manœuvres. They don't reason logically as your great men do ; but they have learned to speak in language

which kings and courtiers are obliged to understand; and should there be any very loud call for additional energies, nothing but respect for the laws will restrain them from speaking that language. They are even now insulted with all the arguments which have been used in favor of *energetic* governments, ever since the days of Pharaoh: but every one knew long before our revolution that an energetic government could be supported: it is a piece of unfailing machinery; invented many centuries ago, and consists in governing as much, in collecting as many taxes, and in employing as much force as the governed will bear without revolt. The patriarchal government of slaves is *energetic*; it goes to the utmost verge of endurance. Peter the Great, who civilized his subjects, suspending them by thousands over the Wolga in the most cruel tortures, was an *energetic* prince. The late Frederic, practised all the tactics of *energy*. Henry 4th and Lewis 14th were *energetic*. Nearly all the nations of Europe are groaning under the blessings of *energetic* government; and whenever the cry for energy with us overpowers the cry of the people for freedom, we cease to have the government for which we bled. Should a season ever arrive, when no opinions are respected, except those which in courtly orations and sermons, or in addresses\* or responses to addresses servilely adulate the measures of government, that season will be a dark morning to a dismal day for Americans. Rights once given up, are never restored: principles once deserted never return.

Monarchy and republicanism part at this point; the first insists on unity and energy; the last on such a division

\* Though the interference of the people in matters of government has been thought dangerous; yet addresses *in favor of measures* have been graciously received and answered. When the president has passed a city, the mayor and aldermen are impressed—and have the honor—and can't express themselves, and the president receives with great gratitude—and wishes them great increase of such feelings, and tells them how important they are to the union, &c. A few more such addresses and responses! and your rights are not worth a cent per man.



of power that it cannot be dangerous. With such division no laws can be made and no plans projected, except they be of general and obvious utility. There will be, then, no national greatness, destroying like a mighty monster every portion of social happiness; no men whose salaries shall absorb the earnings of hundreds. If it be said we can have no peace nor wealth, except we command it by force: no respectability, except we conform to the policy and manners of other courts; *Then take that course with all its splendors. 'Tis not the course of a republic.*

Delusion is ready to whisper, these are all idle vagaries; but they are not the vagaries of modern philosophy, all the subjugated people of the earth have found them to be solemn, humbling, dreadful realities. Nothing can prevent their establishment here, but the united and persevering efforts of those who are destined to be deluded.

Having presented a course of delusions under the head of these great men: you may be ready to ask, If these men are dangerous, how shall we get rid of them? I answer, that these great and dangerous men, whose feelings and interests are always opposed to equal rights generally compose about *one tenth* of society. You have no other means to extricate yourselves; but by passing over that part of the *nine tenths* whom they have secured by favors or deluded by their enchantments, and to choose from the remainder the firmest and most intelligent. What cries one and another, will you leave our men of abilities and put in the *base-born* to govern us? Be composed, gentlemen, the *base-born* support the government, and suppose you should just let them have a peep through the key-hole of the treasury door; they may see what will amuse them. But you may be comforted, these great men are made of very flexible materials; and as soon as they find power to be decidedly on the other side of the

equation, they will be after it: and perhaps some of these *base-born* may prove themselves to be better than they appear. You will recollect that the citizens of this country are like trees, all set out together: but, through the influence of a system of favor, one part of them have been nursed and watered, and the earth about them enriched: they have had all the nourishment of the ground, the others have been neglected. Not only so, but the language to them has been "be ye accursed, let no fruit grow on ye forever." Are we to wonder that all passers by admire the thrift and flourishing state of the first, and are disposed to say that the last ought to be cut down and gathered into bundles?

'Tis a real misfortune to the nine-tenths of society, that the other tenth should be opposed to them; but never let it be forgotten, that the argument drawn from the coincidence of great and wise and holy politicians in public measures, is of all others the most alarming. These are the only men whom you have to fear. If some are apparently more holy than their neighbors, then if they meddle with your politics they are most capable of deceiving you: their holiness may recommend them to heaven; but is no guarantee for their political rectitude. This class, however, are generally set on by other great men: not by those who are great because they are rich; for these are the tools of another set, who are the knowing ones. In Athens those who became too great and influential suffered ostracism: but in this country we ought to have prudence enough to prevent any man, or class of men, from deserving such an honorable banishment.

For my own part, I am willing to be governed by men greater, wiser and richer than myself: but have no opinion of having men so great that their altitude must be taken by a quadrant and their width by a four-rod chain: through excessive indulgence we have, already, a number of men too great for a republic. How comes

it that these great men are so very fit to govern? Internal government is designed to control inordinate passions: great men are most proud, avaricious, and tyrannical: will you then select these to curb pride, avarice and tyranny? Republican society is to protect the weak against the strong: but, if the strong are to have all the power the weak will be oppressed. But says one and another, what will become of our great men? My answer is, that they always had address enough to work their own passages. The great host of mankind, the nine-tenths, are those, which a republican government ought to concern itself about; and if this is faithfully attended to, the other tenth will still gain such a portion of power and money as will make them useful instead of dangerous. They are the very men for your purposes whenever you have reduced them to the standard weight and measure of the people.

I am well aware of the great convenience which many of you find in keeping close to these knowing men, in gathering the crumbs which fall from the tables of the rich, and in sailing under the lee of the ecclesiastical convoy-ships; but you are taking a bad road: it is a broad road; it is *the* broad road: thousands have paid turnpike toll on it before you were born; and, if you follow it, it may lead you to wealth and honors; it may ruin your country; but will certainly land you where it has landed all your predecessors.

Having little confidence in addressing placemen, court sycophants and those who expect the wages of hirelings, I turn to the last general head of political delusions, which is the subject of ELECTIONS TO OFFICE.

If the career of delusion could be stopped at the end of every two or four years, and the people could be left to exercise free and unbiassed elections, all the evils proposed to you might be remedied; but delusion reserves his greatest strength and subtlety for these occa-



sions, which, in their turn, demand from me an accumulated force of discussion.

Let me first present to you the delusions which have attended past elections. Formerly, the people of his country had sense enough to originate and organize government; and, by their intelligence and energies, to keep it in operation; now, by force of *federal opiates*, they have just sense enough to choose the wisest and greatest men, but, as soon as the choice is over, they sink into a torpid state, and thus remain for two years, till the trumpet of new election wakes them to new life and energy: but even then they have been so long dormant that sometimes the crew of a ship must be murdered; this murder must be registered in sermons for the edification of political saints; the men must continue bona fide dead, till the election is closed; miracles must be wrought at the bottom of meal tubs; the Indian tribes must be all in motion to invade the frontiers; mighty ships with mighty men in them must be traversing the ocean on mighty, portentous and unaccountable errands; the whole political stage must be veiled in darkness and mystery; clouds, tempests and coruscations must mark the sky: and, in the midst of all this scenery, Satan with his infernal host must be advancing to take his long lease of the earth, and to make princes and nobles of those infernal opposers of religion and good government, whom all friends of *order* are called on to keep out of place. All this, in modern days, is necessary to wake the people to a recollection that the men, whom they chose last are the fittest candidates for another election.

But mark how ineffectual are all these causes to produce the wished effect, till, joining the wonder-working host, *the clergy* (and as Cowper to aid his verse, so I, my prose, with awe profound repeat the sacred name, the clergy) heralds of the prince of peace, ambassadors of him, who disclaimed for himself and his followers the honors of men; *the clergy*, preachers of the word of life, deign

for some days to wave their sacerdotal functions; to descend from their high seats, made venerable by the respect of the people for religion, and as they advance to join and influence the throng you may hear a shout from every quarter, **THE CHURCH IS IN DANGER!** This completes the scenery, and lethargy starts into life and vigor. At this moment by the light of those great moral luminaries Robison\* and Barruel, and by the aid of Rush-lights,† are discovered in all their deformity the atheistical opposers of funding systems, those delightful downy pillows, *on which have slept in everlasting repose the rights of man*; the abandoned enemies of splendid American courts, of diplomatic legions, of foreign tribute. As this vision is passing, the people are called on to look at those disinterested men, who regardless of private interest, have sacrificed years to their service, and who wish to serve them again, only to show their zeal to the death. The election being satisfactorily closed, the people, like the bird, whom they represent, fly to their hiding places to wait for a biennial resurrection.

Let no one imagine that I would represent the clergy as acting out of their sphere in all this scenery; for is it not said unto them, "*Go ye into all the world and preach politics unto every creature. When men oppose ye, call them enemies of God and trample them under your feet. Appoint fasts unto the Lord, and when the people are assembled, say to them that the Lord reigneth on the earth in the midst of men of power and wealth; that he delighteth in the proud, even in those who are lofty; that he will exalt the vain, and lay in the dust, those who are humble in his sight; that the great men are gods; but that the little men are like the chaff, which he driveth before the wind; that in the day of his power he*

\* These are the writers who undertook to prove that the French revolution originated in philosophism and infidelity. Delusion blessed them for veiling the true cause, which every American knew to have been the excessive oppression of that people under their ancient government.

† Peter Porcupine.

*will shine mightily on those who are in power, and that he will make the people under them like the hay, and the stubble and the sweepings of the threshing floor."* And when these mighty men shall say unto you the church is in danger; then shall ye cry mightily unto the people and say "the church is in danger,\*" and when my people hear this, they shall gird on each one his armour, and ye shall lead my people, and ye shall say unto them, "Though these mighty men be blasphemers, and though they are often seen in the seat where Satan dwelleth; yet for righteousness sake they live a lie, and though apparently the disciples of Satan will in the end betray them," and the people shall hear you and shall fear you, and they shall say unto these mighty men "ye have taken our cloaks: yet ye are cold; ye have taken our purses; yet ye are poor; ye have mortgaged our houses and our lands; yet ye are destitute: behold what remains to us, take of all that which seemeth to ye meet; for though ye be called our servants; yet we are servants unto you, and will serve you—we and our wives and our children."

Hail mighty Delusion, these are thy handy works!

Fortunately for us, most of these delusions have lost their effect. Robison and Barruel, can deceive no more. The 17 philosophistical work-shops of Satan† have never been found: not one illuminatus major nor minor has been discovered in America, though their names have been published, and though their existence here is as clearly proved as was their existence in Europe. The cannibal's progress and bloody buoy, have destroyed each other: the political prayers sent up on former occasions have never reached the tops of the steeples, nor have they brought one blessing down: the pantomimical sermons, which have graced political sabbaths are laughed at: the suggestions about Jefferson's atheism are despised, since

\* When the clergy are denouncing the infidelity of Jefferson and M'Kean—ask them to exhibit the piety and orthodoxy of Charles Cotelworth Pinckney and James Ross!

† See Mr. Lewis's oration delivered in New Haven, July, 1799.



many who make them are found to be men, who would sell all the temples and altars in the country for 12 frigates: the monstrous noise about ancient wickedness and infidelity is abated, since mankind have reflected that the sins of the antediluvians are not particularly chargeable on democrats. The terrible outcry about French atheism has met a similar fate, and the charges of French cruelty vanish before the characteristic crimes of Britain, which fashion obliges us to read on the anniversaries of independence in the monumental act of our country. Murders and robberies on sea; plots and insurrections on land, have all lost their effect: and all the little tricks of delusion, such as the prophecy of a remarkable boy in Vermont about the great evils which this country might expect from the reign of democracy, together with Nelson's belts, Suwarrow bonnets, Dan-Harrison and Moses Seymour letters\* are flying on the wings of oblivion to the realms of Erebus.

Better than this, the federal party† is divided. Porcupine is gone, Fenno resigned, Mc Henry missing, Pickering dismissed—great confusion in the cabinet: Sedgwick, Harper, Lyman and Co. taking leave of their constituents and publishing letters of advice, which are to sail down the stream of time as jolly-boats to the advice of Washington.

Lately our chief executive was the rock on which the storm might beat: then he was supposed to second the views of a party; and said to be the champion of a durable system, the unerring pilot of the political ship: now that party regard him as a frail sand-mole over which washes every wave: of weak measures, a timid

\* Two letters published in the Litchfield paper, to influence the choice of representatives and republished in many of the federal papers for weeks after the object of them had been defeated by the choice of Messrs. Kirby and Welch.

† By a light breeze raised in the city of New York—fanned by an able patriot, the athes were blown from the coals of 1776: republicanism roused to rescue expiring rights from the convulsions which awaited them. Delusion took the alarm!

partizan : of a crazy ship, a blind pilot. Now they wish for some young energetic leader, who will bear no foreign insults, who will have wooden walls and regiments in abundance.\*

In this confused state of the leading party, it is difficult to calculate in what form delusion is to attack you. Whether the diplomatic corps abroad are to operate, or whether sermons on a new construction are to be served up, is yet a matter of doubt. I shall, however, venture to present you some of the probable delusions and certain obstructions which are to operate against your exercise of free election.

Look at once on the aristocracies, which I have named to you, consider their wealth, their force, their subtlety, the immense interests which they have at stake ; remember that these furnish the men, who, in the definition of my subject, were stiled the prime agents of delusion, who know the heart and the avenues to the passions, and who can place before you, with strong impressions, every conceivable motive of hope and fear. Your treasury, supplied with your own money, is to operate against your freedom of election. See the host of your brethren, who depend on that treasury. Tens of thousands of men in our country live on the people : but independent of them and their weight and influence is found mostly in the governing scale. If the first officers lose their election the subordinate ones may lose their offices and emoluments : therefore every new election has exactly all their influence, and generally that of all their connections to balance against an impartial issue, and by all that influence which is incalculably great and increasing those in place have a chance of re-election superior to those not in place. This idea

\* The party referred to complain that Mr Adams was capricious and ungovernable in the cabiner. They wish for a president, who instead of being the pilot shall be the rudder of the ship, which they may steer at pleasure. Mr. Adams's firmness and integrity will always be respected even by those who have not been partial to the measures of his administration.

opens to you the inducement which the higher officers have to lead up a funding system, an army, a navy, federal city, valuation tax. All these things lead to new appointments in abundance, to a system of favor,\* which engages a host of expectants in addition to the successful candidates and whenever these offices amount sufficiently to create a moral certainty of re-election,† the government ceases to be republican: you may then call it an oligarchy or a monarchy: to the people it matters not what it is.

But these great men and privileged orders do not oppose to you their single votes; they have about them a host of sycophants or dependants, who must vote according to orders: but not to this false influence alone is Delusion confined. The characters, principles and feelings, of those who are opposed to present men and measures are to be torn in pieces. The election ball is not well opened, till the republicans are bleeding at every pore. The 4th of July occasions,‡ which you imagined yourselves to have earned, have been wrested from you and they have been perverted into days for chastising the enemies of administration by the odious characters of illuminatists, disorganizers and atheists: but as our Indian tribes, when they are torturing a prisoner, suffer him, in the interval of his torments, to sit and smoke or eat with them; so have these federal gentlemen, after a public wounding of you in every part, suffered you to dine with them, to toast men, whom you regard as despoilers of your rights; and to join them in copious libations to principles and measures, which you hold in abhorrence; and, the penalty for your neglecting or refusing to do and suffer the whole measure of torment has been,

\* Had the constitution vested appointments in a committee to be changed every two years, some evils now experienced would have been avoided: perhaps an amendment on this part would be full as valuable as an amendment aimed at the person of Albert Gallatin.

† Elections would be well guarded if officers of government could be excluded from voting. Their votes and influence cannot be impartial.

‡ These days have been eminently improved to serve the purposes of elections, and to sow the seeds of federal wrath and animosity.



to hold you up as a hissing and a bye-word, as jacobins, anarchists, and fit companions for infernal spirits. Such has been part of the system of tyranny, which, even before our own eyes, has been acted repeatedly on the memorable anniversaries of our independence. Happy would it be were this confined to the great cities; but our government has led up a number of little aristocracies no bigger than pea-brush in our small towns—where either priest or lawyer, or federal officers, or modern whigs and their associates, must, like their superiors, be lording it over the poor convicted democrats.

A great art, on these public occasions, has been to paint up a certain character in every deformity of vice; then to rob the infernal wardrobe to dress him, then to call this a democrat, disorganizer, jacobin and fatanist. Their creed is to be as monstrous as their appearance; they are made to believe things incredible, to practise things horrid, and to meditate mischiefs infinite. There, say they, ladies and gentlemen, is a republican and this is republicanism. Then to shew the power of contrast, you have presented a charming, amiable, divine character, dressed in celestial robes, believing, practising and contriving all which is good and deserving. This, say they, is a federalist, and this is federalism. They then proceed to muster up all the infernal actions of all the bad men in the world, and set them up as the admiration of these infernals. They make them look complacently at blasphemy, smile at murder and fall in to a broad laugh at atheism. They then assign to them as companions all the wretches, who have in every age disgraced humanity: and on the other side all the good actions throughout the world; all men famous for piety, goodness and science, are presented as the objects of love and esteem for their celestials. They claim all holy men of every age as federalists. Then, to crown the work, they send these infernal jacobins to the infernal world, and translate the federalists to a state of glory.

Nearly every one who hears me, knows this picture to be taken from the life—*every one knows it to be sheer, palpable, abusive delusion ; combining the basest of means with the most abandoned of ends.* There is a great host of intelligent republicans in this country ; not one of whom wishes for the abolition of religion and government ; not one of whom approves any of the unjustifiable measures of France.

But Delusion knows that many men fear to be on the weak side ; therefore these occasions are sometimes improved to shew that there are *few or no democrats* in these northern states. I shall shew the fallacy of this by two short traverses.

First, go about the country and ask the people, do you like Mr. Adams, Mr. Pickering, &c. ? they don't know. Do you like the constitution ? Yes. Do you like the funding system, federal city, foreign intercourse, stamp-act, army, navy—no, decidedly not one of them. But ask them whether they intend to vote for federal men—they will answer, yes, certainly ; for we are told *that all the democrats are atheists, and would pull down all religion and government.* Now surely a federalist must be ashamed that men, thoroughly republicans at heart should be obliged to make war on their feelings, principles and liberties, under the influence of such a false, barefaced delusion. The man, who told them this knew it to be false : he never saw any man in his senses, who wished to destroy all religion, and surely he never believed that great exertions would be made by men to get into place, if their object was no other than to tear down the edifice of government and to bury themselves in its ruins. Multitudes of rational men are for destroying that kind of religion, which is made a foot-ball or stalking horse, and which operates only to dishonor God and ruin man : but the world at large is well disposed to have due homage paid to the source of being, though

it may differ about the forms, in which that can be most acceptably rendered.

But let us try another traverse. From the whole number of reputed federalists, deduct those, who depend directly or indirectly on government for support ; deduct the expectants of federal office : *these* surely are not impartial judges ; then deduct the great host of men who are marked like a box of glass, with a *keep this side up*, who would be pleased with any government under a dey, bey, monarch, grand duke, grand seignor, or viceroy, provided they could share the power of it : men, who praise all preachers, serve all great men and are lacquies to every thing but truth and honesty ; then deduct the great number of men who are wholly uninformed on the subject of government and who are federal, merely because they are hauled about by a federal windlass ; then deduct the men in advanced life, who have seen many changes and have been deluded in them all, and who calculate that in any government things will be as bad as the men in power can make them.

After these deductions you may look round for federalists, you will not see *men as trees walking*. Separate those who follow for the loaves and fishes, with those who habitually follow the multitude, from the sincere admirers of present men and measures, and the result would present the conclusions which your minds ought to admit.

But, say these deluders, 'suppose there are a few democrats see who they are, a poor ragged noisy company ! but to these rags you owe your robes : these men have been taxed severely to support a government, which gloried in depriving them of the means. When a federal tax-gatherer appeared, they could not, as you could, resort to federal purses ; but cast your eyes southward and you will see some men with whole clothes, correct morals and unquestionable intelligence, daring to oppose strength to



argument and thunder of eloquence to your motley garbled system of European politics.

We poor ragged democrats in these truly federal northern states, who read the lying Bee, Aurora and Mercury, and dare not touch the Spectator, the Centinel, nor the Connecticut Courant lest the splendor of truth should destroy our eye-sight : we, who meet in barns to settle the nation, pray that our littleness may save us from the crushing power of your federal highnesses. We confess that for our sins we deserve to have an everlasting debt fixed upon us, due to men who despise the services for which the debt was contracted. We deserve to be kept under by an army and navy. We deserve to be made the victims of constructive treason and have no claim to be afterwards treated as the monuments of presidential mercy. Jails, fines, and gallowses ought to be our portion. We deserve even in the midst of suffering to be jeered and laughed at by our tormentors ; to be traduced in the news-papers of federal truth, and to be ranked in fast and election-sermons among infernal spirits. We deserve to be wholly cut off from all hope of presidential favor and the blessing of society. Though some of us fought and bled for the revolution, yet we have fallen from our first estate into all the guilt and pollution of democracy ; and had it not been for the sparing mercy of our true liege lords we should long since have been cut off from our homes, and had our portions appointed among the democrats of a wretched world. Have mercy upon us ! Have mercy upon us ! ye well-fed, well dressed, chariot-rolling, caucus-keeping, levee-revelling federalists ; for we are poor and wretched and ignorant and miserable,

I should hope that such a humble confession might save the poor handful of northern democrats from the mighty power of the northern federalists, and that these gentlemen would turn their attention to the banks of the Hudson, Delaware and Potomac, where they may

find as much ability, integrity and eloquence as they can afford to meet : but, if we must be persecuted, we shall probably increase, and perhaps in *eight years more* there may be some of our number, who can discern the difference between a government of equal rights and a government, where inequality and distinction of rank form the most prominent feature.

Now let me seriously ask my brethern, the retailers of words and gestures on those anniversaries—Do you not know at least twenty democrats\* in the United States, who profess far more accurate and extensive knowledge on the subject of politics than you do ? who have as large families, and as much property to protect as you have; and whose reasonings and conclusions on the state of our country are likely to be full as ingenious and pertinent as yours ? If you are ignorant of this you ought to read. Well, have you any power of attorney from these men to abuse them ? have you a patent for the exclusive use of all the opprobrious terms in the language ? or do you claim to be key-keepers to that world, whither you have so often sent the democrats ? how comes it that every orator, on such occasions, is able to call before him all the great, and brave, and wise men of ancient and modern days, of this and all other countries and to catechise and curse them ? There is something mighty farcical in all this business. It is to be wished that these gentlemen would keep their curses for domestic consumption.

Here it may be interesting to notice for a moment some of the strange stimulating logic dished up on such occasions—such as, that Voltaire was an atheist—that Voltaire was a Frenchman—that all democrats are attached to be French, therefore that all Frenchmen and democrats are atheists. Now this is good reasoning, but it renders no reason why I should pay an extra tax. But

\* The names of Jefferson, Burr, Madison, Monroe, Baldwin, Dickinson, Priestly, Gallatin and Samuel Adams, are too mighty for the attacks of ephemerals. Those might have ranked among the great, wise and mighty men, *had they possessed the contempt for the people which characterises the agents of delusion.*

Rouffean, D'Alembert and Diderot were infidels, and the masons in Europe have become faithless. This strengthens the argument; still the connection between all this and my money is wholly invisible: but perfidious France is murdering the honest Germans and Russians, and the Dutch have treated shamefully the Duke of York, and the Egyptians are in danger of a revolution; all this is very important. *It proves that the measures of our government are perfectly right, and that there is no occasion for looking at home.* But the Indians have stolen a horse! *By all means raise an additional regiment.* But Truxton has taken the Insurgent, and we are now masters of the ocean! *Make the forests ring with your axes, fill the sea with ships; put your liberties afloat, sailing will season them as it does liquors.* But a foreigner infests your national councils. *Amend your constitution.* But a foreigner is at the head of your armies! *Delusion commands silence.* But a howling atheist, who has crept into the third story of the federal building, is proclaiming that my neighbor's opinion will not pick my pocket nor break my leg!\* *This shews the importance of associating religion with government.*

Not less delusive than the orations are the toasts on those days. It is well known, that if you set up any thing, and pray for it and preach for it and toast it, the thing becomes of consequence. But voluntary effusions will not answer: committees must be appointed, and they give you, 1st, *the president*, 16 cheers three guns. Federalism used almost to fail in expression. He was Adams and liberty, he was the rock, the pilot, in short every thing but a parish steeple; not a word about the vice-president! Next, *millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute.* Federalists rise; make the air ring; cannons make your speeches; and if any growling jacobin should damp the general joy, by speaking of a tribute to the dey of Algiers, blow him into the air. Then "*confusion*

\* See Appendix.



to the democrats : nine cheers. Now when one class of citizens begin to exorcise the other, the chances in favor of harmony and unanimity are wholly incalculable. Again, "*The American Fair, their frowns on democrats, and their exclusive smiles on federalists.*" There, my good friends, your toasts wont help you; those smiles are to be *merited* : not won by toasting.

I have introduced this little specimen of toasts to swell the list of delusive arts which are practised to render palatable the measures of administration, and to give force to a remark, that on the side of government have been prayers, sermons, orations, toasts, offices, influence and treasury ; and against the republicans, alien and sedition laws ; exclusion from office ; abuse in and out of congress ; reviling in newspapers ; and yet, with all this, at the end of 11 years, if the officers of government could be chosen under a new census, there is a moral certainty of a great majority in favour of the democratic candidates. This shews, in a strong point of view, how little the administration has bottomed itself on the confidence of the people ; *the only basis on which a republic can rest.*

When delusion has given command to attack the democrats on the score of their attachment to the cause of France, the stage, the desk and the press have been alike at his service. Falsehood has borrowed the hundred tongues of fame, and each tongue has had full employ in detailing the enormities of the French, and in representing these enormities as the objects of affection with the republicans ; but they have shrunk from the distinction between the cause of struggling freedom and the enormities inseparable from a revolution.

To render such base delusions contemptible, let me call to your view the tottering thrones of Europe ; the exhausted finances of royal tyrants : see where feudalism and vandalism had overspread kingdoms, sunk in the calm of despotism, shrouded in the night of slavish delusion : see freedom, like the lightning of the heavens, bursting from the midst of darkness in rapid

and tremendous flashes ; by this light see freemen mounting to the top of the waves in the *tempestuous sea of liberty*. Wait with patience ; this sea will soon be quieted ; that lightning will soon be succeeded by the day of freedom. Let not the *convulsions* which attend an unparalleled struggle for freedom alarm you, who witnessed the *spasms* of our partial revolution. If with excess of pain and strong cryings the blood returns into the veins of a man in a state of resuscitation, shall we wonder at the strong convulsions and inexpressible agonies which nations experience, when freedom, that vital fluid of society, after a suspension of 900 years, is again made to flow freely in its veins ? Writers may tell you of the cruelties and excesses of the French revolution ; British writers told the same of us when we contended against them. Summon up the faults of the best of men, you may fill a page ; those of the worst of men might employ a pamphlet ; those of nations in a state of peace would require volumes ; and, in a state of war, if their enemies are to be their biographers, the world would hardly contain a catalogue of their crimes.

Lies told about the French, in English, Hamburg, Russian and German papers for months, all concentrated in one federal paper, present a most horrid character of that people. This concentration even for years is condensed into a cannibal's progress, and the picture becomes monstrous indeed. Suppose that all the *true* accounts of murders, robberies, extraordinary reptiles, duels, sentences of courts and executions in America, for one year, were to be republished with only the common exaggerations of a second impression : and if to these should be added, by those who are fond of the marvellous, many wonderful prodigies of fraud and cruelty, monstrous beasts and reptiles, calculated to impress the reader with horror ; together with all the commentaries, which in the course of that year had been made on these publications, by the decided and rancorous enemies of the people, gov-

ernment, climate and manners of America; and the whole published in the compass of a pocket volume, by an editor keenly determined to ruin our character; and then let this be read by a man resolved to believe the worst of us; pray what would be his impressions? why he would consider America as the off-scouring of the earth; as a den of cruelty; as a refuge for wild beasts and hideous reptiles. Just as good have been your means of intelligence about France. Not one person who had any reputation of friendship for that nation has addressed you on the subject. Hence it has been thought regular for every royalist to deal out his curses on France; to conjure up Satan to make up his deficiency of language to abuse them; and, having sent them on a journey to the infernal world, the next task was to send after them all who retained a belief, that though many of their measures were indefensible on cool rational principles; that though in their mighty convulsions and tremendous wars they had sometimes been excessive; yet that their cause was good, and that the Lord reigned and guided the storm.

On this subject of elections, delusion always raises a great cry about the *ins* and *outs*, and it is said by the *ins*, that the *outs* wish to be *in*. This is always said by the same class of men; but how can it be true in the present case; for, according to their own statement, the public officers retire poor and the others could do better at home. Now one or the other side of this proposition must be true. If then theirs be true, that there are constant outgoings of disinterestedness and patriotism, why so unwilling that others should share the burden? Is it because they would not govern as well as you? Suffer me to say you are miserable judges on this point, and your modesty ought to preclude the suggestion. But suppose there are immense advantages attached to the *ins*; such as the holding as tenants in common all the power in the country; distributing all the money, all the offices; living on the best, keep-



ing the first of company; forming important connections and providing for friends.\* “If, says the venerable Pelatiah Webster, “the ins do not know how to appreciate such advantages, I pity not them so much as the fools who send them.” The six dollars a-day, or four or five or twenty thousand dollars a year, form the smallest item in the account. Will you say, “we have responsibility to balance these extras?” Tell of the responsibility of nine-pins and rattle-boxes! pray where is your *ability* to respond, if by your mismanagement you take millions of money from the people, or waste thousands of lives in a useless quarrel? Open your purses and see whether you have small change to pay for principles dearly assumed, but idly sacrificed; for expected blessings, thro’ your means, turned into curses founded on interminable interest; for rational freedom turned, by your delusive measures, into slavery unchangeable. Will you say that your characters are to pay the bill? alas! while the scrutiny is making they will vanish. This responsibility is all a delusion. The ins have privileges in abundance, and it was once said that in a free government these should be in rotation. Will you say that all mankind are alike, and in similar situations would equally betray?† Be it so, when the people let the power go out of their own hands they will always be betrayed. Take away the sovereignty of the people, *which always rests in unbiassed‡ elections*, and all the rest is not worth contending for, Take this away, and it is of no moment to the people who is president or vice-president—who are senators and members, or who are the heads of departments; for when that is gone, all the rest will sooner or later go: but ’tis of infinite moment to the people to know and feel, that if the elected do not

\* And speculating in land-warrants.

† A merchant turns out of employ the man who is ruining him. He never waits to philosophise and say, ‘Why all men are knaves. This man has almost ruined me and I may as well become bankrupt through his means as through another’s.’

‡ Unbiassed by falsehood, clerical influence and terrorim: the bias of truth can do no wrong. Opposition to false bias serves the cause of truth, and produces a reaction, dreadful to political importance.

conform, they shall not be re-elected. This forms a responsibility, which once established, might preserve a free republic for ever; and this maxim is the corner stone of republicanism. This is the rock founded on which a building would stand strong in the day of the floods and winds. Republicanism may bid defiance to delusion, whenever the people shall have firmness and weight enough to balance president, vice-president, senators, representatives, heads of department, diplomatic corps, army, navy, together with all the subordinate agents which new measures place it in the power of rulers to appoint and support independent of them.

Another electioneering delusion is, "*that the Aurora and other republican papers are full of lies, and the conclusion is, that the federal papers are full of truths.*" Here let me ask how often did the federal papers drown, shoot, or massacre Buonaparte, while in Egypt? How often was Suwarrow victorious when he was flying before the French? How often was Moreau's army defeated by the humane conqueror of Ismael? How often was Holland taken by the Duke of York? How often has rebellion been completely quelled in Ireland? How many illuminats have been found in this country? How often has Mr. Ross been governor of Pennsylvania? How completely did Mr. Monroe fail of his election to the chair in Virginia? What great federal conversions has been wrought in North Carolina? What plots in the South? and finally, when nearly all the federal papers in the last year published the success of the federal ticket in New-York, and added, that democracy would never again raise its head there: I ask how true was it? The federal papers tell you that all New-England is federal; and even the same Boston papers, which announce 20,000 votes in favour of the democratic ticket, proclaims the integral federalism of that state: but unfortunately the federalists came in such throngs and so darkened the air, that 20,000 of them got benighted and voted for Gerry. Delusion, these are thy weak tricks!

Well, say these deluders, let the democrats have their way, they will appoint a president who will turn out all the old tried officers, and put a set of men in their place, who would annihilate the funding system and bring confusion out of order: then goes national character: for these men have no idea of honesty or public faith; but these democrats who best know their own calculations, profess that a president of their choice would probably retain in place all men who had served faithfully. As to their principles he might well calculate to find them in a bundle with their interests, and in a few weeks they would draw well in republican geers. The funding system would be annihilated as fast as means to discharge it could be procured. These would result from savings, by calling home the deplomatic corps and the ships of war; by retrenching offices at home; salaries and unnecessary expences, and by the proceeds of our immense western territory, and no laws would be made to prevent the citizens of other countries from coming to assist us in the reduction of it. Probably a new administration would stop the building of the federal city, and leave its unfinished walls as a monument to future ages of the magnificent plans\* of men, who once undertook to be the rulers of a free people; and that those who are hereafter to lament on another subject, may here practise their notes of sorrow, and say, "*Federal Babylon is fallen, is fallen!*" that great city, which in the ordinary course of things would have been the refuge of every hateful bird, and the receptacle of the abominations of the whole earth. The system of a new administration would be less directed to federal greatness than the present: our militia would be made strong; unlimited confidence would be placed in the people, *and our constitution would be firmly supported*. Now I believe that such would be the course of a new administration; yet it is possible that they might seize a creditor and drag him to prison instead

\* See Appendix.



of his debtor : they may hang the witnesses in a cause instead of the condemned culprit ; they might sell the country, and themselves and families at auction ; might declare war against their own characters and principles ; and, like true harlequins bite their own heads off. These things are full as probable as any of the electioneering delusions dealt out to you.

Having under three general heads exhibited the prominent features of political delusion, suffer me to apply the subject in an address to the *nine tenths* of society.

When you see, my brethren, the most despotic and tyrannical administrations in the world defended by the ablest pens, bravest armies, and most shining abilities, you surely will not believe that a combination of all these in our own is a conclusive argument of its goodness. Men have written and spoken like angels, and fought like blood-hounds, in defence of despotism and tyranny.

I have pointed to you the line which distinguishes you, the people, from that class of men whose interests are opposed to those of the people, by naming to you the acts which mark this distinction. Not more opposed to religion are the world, the flesh and the devil, than are the subtlety, avarice and pride of the *one tenth*, to the rights of the *nine tenths* in society.

Newly initiated politicians, and anniversary orators, having just learned the delightful machinery of energetic government, are apt to wonder how a people, who enjoy the sun and moon and tides, according to Stafford's Almanac, and whose lands produce in plenty, can wish for another system of measures ; but 'tis not by authority of the United States that the heavenly bodies revolve ; not by reason of the interest of our court in the court of heaven, that we have spring and autumn, heat and light, fine crops and abundant markets. The praises of administration have been sung from the one end of the con-

tinent to the other. Amused by this, your exertions have hitherto been devoted solely to the promotion of this *one tenth*, to the neglect of yourselves:\* they have taken rank with the mighty men of the earth: while you, hewers of wood and drawers of water, have been "crouching down between two burdens." 'Tis true you have as yet no titles of nobility; but who cares for titles of nobility, provided you do not give with them wealth and influence? What would a duke in England be, if he had no property, nor credit, nor a seat in the house of lords? Fill a man with wealth and power, and he is *in fact* a peer of the realm. The nature of things is not changed by names; an *eagle* would not cease to be gold, though you should politely call it a *York six-pence*; nor would a cent experience the mighty power of a transmutation of metals, though you should call it an eagle. The man who can hold a supreme court in his cabin; sentence men to death, from which there can be no appeal nor reprieve, and hang them by dozens to the yard-arm for offences, which in civil society might have cost them a fine of 7 dollars, can never respect the people. The man who can gain an appetite for breakfast, by seeing 100 lashes, severely bestowed, on half a score of soldiers, for speaking lightly of some upstart adjutant, some privileged cousin of some influential man, can never respect the people. *Martial and naval laws are fatal to freedom, and ought never to be in force, except at the moment of actual invasion.* A man, attached to the distinctions of being and blessedness between the admiral and the sailor, the general and soldier, can never contemplate a condition of equal rights without contempt. He sees the soldier and sailor taken from the *nine tenths* of society, submit-

\* It is a noticeable fact, that no sooner does a member of congress resign, than the people are very anxious to find some honorable place for him to rest in after the excessive fatigue of federal legislation, and for this purpose the people of Connecticut generally place him at the council board.

ting to humiliations abhorrent to the cause for which he professed to enlist; and hence concludes that the class of men, from whom they were taken, deserves nothing but lashes and contempt.

The luxurious courtier, who must have his pease and salmon, before the frost has left the earth, or the ice the rivers, and who loaths the sight of vegetable or animal food in the season of it; who rides in a gig with half a dozen lacqueys behind him; who curses every tavern-keeper; excommunicates every cook, and kicks over the table, because his eggs were not brought to him in a pre-existent state; can never have any opinion of the *plebians* who are toiling to furnish the means of his splendor.

The man who, raised by the people from 25 and 50 cent habits, to a lucrative establishment; from a plain to a sumptuous table; from a laborious profession to the brilliant region of levees and courts; from the company of farmers to the society of foreign ministers; and from obscure life to the top ridge of the federal mountain, must look down on the people. No shade-wilted belle ever looked with more scorn on the ruddy milk-maid, than does such an elevated Proteus on his fog-benighted constituents. He looks up and sees some still greater beings about him; but wisely calculates that the same power, which raised him from nothing can make a man-mountain of him. Feeling that more power would be welcome to himself, he endeavours to fill all his superiors with as much power as possible. Charged with this mighty project, he forgets all sense of connection, and is full as likely to appoint a lieutenant-general and inspector-general *without an army as with*. He is for making his fourth-proof and common-proof sea-commanders, by the pompous title of vice-admirals and admirals, *even without a navy*; and in all this dream forgets that at home he left an abundance of generals, who led numerous flocks and herds; and that the uncut navies of his native



state were full of admirals with axes on their shoulders.\* But full of his immense project, he writes long letters to his constituents, of things passing strange and wondrous pitiful;—"how that the honor of America would not suffer her to send to a foreign court, men, whom that court could not with honor receive, and how those good men, after ploughing much water, found themselves, as they expected, *ill received*; and how they came back again, and how much they had been assailed by the *rear guard of the alphabet*; and how every nation has a right to send such men abroad as they please;† and concludes, by telling the people that they must be mad, and must put cockades in their hats, and be mad for many days, and must have great talks, and raise an army of officers, and make out a valuation, *on which the most loyal state in the union, should have the honor of paying a tax one year earlier than the rest*; and how the people must trust the reins of government wholly in the hands of the constituted authorities; for that troublesome times are coming."

As all this appears to come from one of our own flesh and blood, it appears highly plausible and is readily swallowed; but it never occurs, till all is over, that this same man, though one of us, is now translated into another state of being; that he has new hopes, new objects, more enlarged conceptions; that instead of being our representative, he has become a representative of the United States. It never occurs that this man's greatness is mightily enhanced, if he can be a master workman in the shop, where all these generals, and admirals, and envoys, and officers' commissions, and taxes are manufactured. It never occurs that all that he pays of the expence of this business, will be only some *decimals of the units*, which we pay him over what his services are worth.

\* These are generals and admirals whom Americans will always revere.

† The X, Y, Z business excited much agitation. Of its merits I am ignorant: but am persuaded that if any attempt shall be made to excite the people; in consequence of any result of the present mission, the consequences will be unpleasant.

Now if the contempt of these great men for the nine tenths of society were all, it might be borne; but immense sums must be levied by them in order to support their splendor and their schemes of greatness. I have avoided to speak to you of unaccounted for millions; but HAVE PRESENTED SYSTEMS BY WHICH THE WEALTH OF THE WORLD IS TO BE WASTED, AND THE BLOOD OF MILLIONS IS TO FLOW; yet it may be well for you to know that the support of your government now amounts to 42,000 dollars a day;\* that this expence has been, and is increasing; and that, in the last session, it was found impossible to provide ways and means to raise the 15 millions of dollars for the expences of the present year. The secretary proposed a stamp duty on transfers of real estate. The committee of ways and means proposed a national lottery, which might annually raise from 100 to 150,000 dollars; and the same committee reported the expediency of empowering the president to borrow 3,500,000 dollars for the service of the present year. Large loans are convenient sops for a greedy sinking fund—when public resources fail, and public good requires some object to be compassed too abandoned to justify a tax or a subscription, a lottery is often proposed, and in the scheme immense advantages are offered to the purchaser: *no less than one chance in 25,000 to draw the highest prize.* An old soldier would be shot at for one cent, if his chance of being killed was no greater than one in 25,000; but worse than bad chances, the sinews of industry must be cut in the purchaser: relying on dame fortune he must quit dame industry; for they keep their lodgers at different hotels. *Scarcely two and a half blanks to a prize!* and why should not fortune deluge a man for this once, when before she had never dropped on him a particle of her dew? But the fortunate adventurer must resign 15 per cent. in order to entitle him to a draw-back of 15 per cent. in his chance for

\* See Appendix.

ruin; and the woe-worn disappointed blank-holders are taught to wait for another scheme and better stars.

All this bears in front the marks of delusion, and it is far better to be thus deluded than to have money raised upon us by indirect means. When my tax-master fears to present me his bill, lest I should ask the whys and wherefores, he contrives in some artful way to pick my pockets. He knows that I have passions, propensities and wants. *These* he taxes in the articles which contribute to my supply or indulgence. He sees that streams of wealth are flowing into the treasury thro' the medium of sugar hogheads and tea-chests. I feel that my resources are expending: he cheers me up with, "*fear not, the hairs of your head are all numbered;*" to which I might well reply, "*yes, and all the pence in my pocket.*" But lotteries draw money from the credulous; indirect taxes from the voluptuary: imperious necessity demands a stamp, and valuation tax: all will not ward off the dreaded crisis. Tho' in an individual the lending of money at 8 per cent. is a crime, denominated by statute corrupt and usurious, and meriting a forfeiture of the whole sum loaned; yet the exigencies of government drive them to procure the commission of this crime. Then comes the moment for sovereign delusion to open all its batteries, the wounds of a bleeding country! just healing under the metallic tractors of Grenville, opened afresh, by exterminating France: a country impoverished by too copious emanations of gratitude towards the revolutionary army, and overpowered by sensibility towards the dey of Algiers, for suffering us to exchange the most valuable productions of the earth, for the wine, oil and fruits of the Mediterranean: a most benevolent country, wishing to be on speaking and hand-shaking terms with every power in Europe, and obliged for that end to send abroad *ship loads of diplomacy*: a most equitable country! suffering the irruptions of lawless savages and the plots of seditious jacobins—must have an army; must have a fleet. A warlike attitude commands peace, and a



peaceful conduct provokes wars; exertions must be made: posterity must not be burdened with taxes. All this is closed with a flattering statement of the financial condition of our country, and a few round periods, shewing the prosperity of our country as flowing from the greatest quantity of wisdom, prudence and patriotism that was ever made into one compost, since the creation of the world.\*

*Surely the nine-tenths of our people have too much sense and firmness to sacrifice their political all to such false artifices.*

Most of the delusions which I have named to you, will be practised on you at the approaching presidential election, and then delusion, ever busy and inventive, will assume new and potent forms, proportioned to the immense importance of that occasion. Some candidates will be proposed to you, whose whole system consists of the delusions which I have explained: but was our revolution atchieved? did the great God guide the storm in order to land us in the harbour of peace and freedom, and yet is the whole scene to be clouded with the bursting of crackers, and raising of sky-rockets? Republicans be awake—the day is more important than any day of your revolution. Now republicanism dies or lives for ever. Your candidate is a tried patriot and statesman. It is not the atheist Jefferson; not the *infamous* discoverer of a standard of weights and measures by the vibrations of a pendulum; not the *base* author of the letter to Mazzei. Federalists need not apprehend that such a man is to be held up; but your candidate is,

JEFFERSON, president of the philosophical society, who, in all his communications to them, has spoken reverently of the wisdom and goodness of God;† the

\* We are often advised to compose under any real or supposed grievances: because other nations are suffering more. As well might you compose a man under the scourge of the lash, by telling him that others are writhing under the tortures of the inquisition; or a man severely afflicted by the gout, that others are sustaining the agonies of amputation. However excellent may appear the system of public measures to those, who are basking in the sunshine of power, it is certain that the democrats have not been *on beds of roses*.

† See Appendix,

man who in his writings has spoken reverently of the christian religion, and has for years supported at his own expence a preacher of the gospel ; a man of unquestionable morality both in theory and practice ; amiable in private life ; holding the second office in your government by the free suffrages of the people ; the *ingenious* discoverer of a perfect standard of weights and measures, and the man who in public, as well as private, has dared to speak truths galling to federal ears ; has dared to say that we had men, who preferred the calm of despotism to the tempestuous sea of liberty ; that we had an aristocratic, monarchic, Britannic faction in this country. Knowing accurately the power of delusion, he ventured to predict, that after the war there would be a relapse of spirit in the people ; that abuses would creep in and continue, till a crisis, when, by the energy of the people, our rights would revive ; or, *till they* should expire in a convulsion : and herein he predicted this very day. Our spirit has declined ; gross abuses have crept in ; we have a powerful aristocratic, monarchic, Britannic faction ; but by a due exertion of your constitutional right of election, your rights may yet revive ; and the man who predicted this, lives to receive the testimony of your respect and confidence, the withholding of which may lead you to the sad catastrophe of seeing your dearly earned rights literally expire in a convulsion.

However you may be agitated on the subject of religion, rest assured, that you are not to depend on any administration of government for the prosperity of Zion. You will not, like the people of England, expect that examples of piety, issues of grace, and streams of salvation, are to flow from his most sacred majesty, and the titled slaves which compose a luxurious court. The chariot wheels of salvation, are far different from the chariot wheels which are to be rolling round the streets of the federal city, with loads of domestic and imported infidelity.

Finally, republicans, be strong: tho' they, who are opposed to you may say, "we are called legion; for we are many," fear not their numbers. Though they may offer you all the kingdoms in the world in consideration of your submission: tho' they may say, "follow us, and ye shall be as gods," heed them not: their business is to delude you. Singular as it may seem, though you have been called infidels; yet you have to combat systems destructive to religion: though you have been called jacobins; yet you have to contend for that equal rational freedom which no jacobin ever fought: tho' you have been called infernals; yet you have the same enemies to fight which the ancient church had: you have principalities and powers, and the rulers of the darkness of this world, and spiritual wickedness in high places, with the prince of the power of the air at the head of them. Though a government which you equally obtained and equally support, has been directed both in language and laws against your feelings, liberties and rights; yet you have waited *peaceably*, tho' *impatiently*, for the day of your constitutional deliverance. Soon will your prison doors be set open; the day to redeem yourselves from great and little tyrants is at hand. If you have firmness to meet the crisis, and faithfully to act your parts in it, you may shout, for your redemption is at hand.

But if in any of you present, delusion has wrought its perfect work, if you have bowed the knee to the political Baal: if you are slavishly devoted to the *self-styled* friends of order and good government, then bid an eternal adieu to the freedom which you never merited; prepare your necks for the yoke; hail Isachar as your venerated ancestor; say to delusion, "*thou art my father*," and to the funding system, federal city, foreign intercourse, army, navy, "*ye are our brethren and sisters*."

THE END.



## APPENDIX.

## NATIONAL DEBT.

1. The Amount of Public Debt is thus stated by the Secretary of the Treasury.

On the 1st of January, 1790. Dolls. Cts.

Foreign, domestic and assumed debt, - 72,237,301 97  
 On the 1st of January, 1791, - - - 76,781,953 15  
 On the 1st of January 1800, - - - 79,403,820 30

2. The committee of Ways and Means, acting on the same subject, Present the total debt,

January 1, 1790, at 71,305,559 64  
 1791, 74,185,596 82  
 1800, 70,212,719 16

The first statement shews an *increase* of the debt according to the Secretary.

The second statements shews a *decrease* of the debt according to the committee.

Though Congress did not act on the report of the committee; yet an impression of a *decrease* of the debt has been left to influence the public mind during the recess of Congress. To prevent any undue impression, Mr. Gallatin has published a view of the public debt, receipts and expenditures, the result of which is as follows:

3. Debt—January 1, 1800, - - - 79,202,631 15  
 January 1, 1790, - - - 69,740,366 27

Nominal increase of debt from 1790 }  
 to 1800, - - - - - } 9,462,264 88

From the amount of increase he deducts  
 all the funds actually acquired by government, and which may possibly be applied towards the reduction of the debt, - - - - -

3,243,071 32

6,219,193 56

To this add debts due to U.S. and cash &c. 438,125 88

Leaving for true amount of increase, 6,657,319 44

## RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

*From the opening of the Government in 1789 to January 1, 1800.*

RECEIPTS.

|                               | Dolls.     | Cts. |
|-------------------------------|------------|------|
| From Balances due, - - - - -  | 302,667    | 13   |
| Loans, - - - - -              | 25,775,795 | 56   |
| Bank Stock, - - - - -         | 1,384,260  |      |
| Lands, - - - - -              | 100,339    | 84   |
| Revenue, - - - - -            | 54,242,213 | 54   |
| Sundries, - - - - -           | 1,127,092  | 76   |
| Profit on Exchange, - - - - - | 414,319    | 78   |
| Total,                        | 83,346,688 | 61   |

EXPENDITURES.

|                                      | Dolls.     | Cts. |
|--------------------------------------|------------|------|
| Subscription to Bank, - - - - -      | 2,000,000  |      |
| Part of Principal of debt, - - - - - | 20,654,847 | 30   |
| Interest of debt,* - - - - -         | 27,559,430 | 35   |
| Civil List, - - - - -                | 4,265,415  | 34   |
| Miscellaneous, - - - - -             | 2,059,211  | 61   |
| Military Establishment, - - - - -    | 14,988,404 | 31   |
| Navy, - - - - -                      | 6,298,016  | 53   |
| Foreign Intercourse, - - - - -       | 2,810,539  | 66   |
| Cash in Treasury, &c. - - - - -      | 2,710,823  | 51   |
|                                      | 83,346,688 | 61   |

This last article of expenditure, viz. *cash on hand*, is estimated in the former calculation as applicable towards the reduction of debt.

\* Though large sums have been applied to the payment of principal and interest of debt; yet the debt has increased. We have only charged creditors.

## EXPENDITURES

*For the service of the year 1800, as calculated by the Secretary of the Treasury.*

|      |                                          | Dolls.     | Cts. |
|------|------------------------------------------|------------|------|
| Cts. | For the Civil List, - - - - -            | 562,275    | 95   |
| 13   | Annuities and Grants, - - - - -          | 953        | 33   |
| 56   | Mint Establishment, - - - - -            | 13,300     |      |
| 84   | Foreign Intercourse, - - - - -           | 92,000     |      |
| 54   | An approbation for ditto, - - - - -      | 40,000     |      |
| 76   | Expences of certain Treaties, - - - - -  | 244,000    |      |
| 78   | Annuity to Algiers, - - - - -            | 24,000     |      |
| 61   | Valuation of Houses and Lands, - - - - - | 215,000    |      |
|      | Military Establishment, - - - - -        | 4,067,200  |      |
| Cts. | Sinking fund, interest, &c. * - - - - -  | 4,910,908  | 69   |
|      | Annuities to Indians, - - - - -          | 11,000     |      |
| 30   | Navy Establishment, - - - - -            | 2,482,953  | 99   |
| 35   | Military Pensions, - - - - -             | 93,000     |      |
| 34   | Cannon, Arms, &c. - - - - -              | 260,000    |      |
| 61   | Appropriation, &c. - - - - -             | 744,202    | 12   |
| 31   | Light-Houses, &c. - - - - -              | 98,240     | 3    |
| 53   | Miscellaneous, - - - - -                 | 34,000     |      |
| 66   | Towards six 74 gun Ships, - - - - -      | 1,300,000  |      |
| 51   | For various Demands, - - - - -           | 200,000    |      |
| 61   |                                          |            |      |
| is   | Estimated amount of Expenditures, }      | 15,393,034 | 11   |
| ards | for 1800. - - - - -                      |            |      |

\* This line was omitted in the first impression.



## REVENUES

*Within the year 1800, according to the Secretary's estimate.*

|                                                                    | Dolls.     | Cts. |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|------|
| From Duties on Imports and Tonnage,                                | 7,000,000  |      |
| Stills, Sales at Auction, Licen- }<br>ces, Carriages and Stamps, } | 800,000    |      |
| Valuation Tax on Houses and }<br>Lands, }                          | 1,200,000  |      |
| Postages, - - - - -                                                | 36,000     |      |
| Fees, Dividends, &c. - - - - -                                     | 265,258    | 51   |
| Estimated amount of revenue for 1800,                              | 9,301,258  | 51   |
| Monies now in Treasury, }<br>which may be applied }                | 1,000,000  |      |
| Balance to be provided for, 5,091,775 60                           |            |      |
|                                                                    | 6,091,775  | 60   |
|                                                                    | 15,393,034 | 11   |

The committee reported some deductions from the amount of expenditures on account of the suspension of enlistments, and of navy building and of monies in the treasury; but this last article was noticed in the secretary's report, and if by any sudden spasm of economy a little should be saved: yet the probability is, that expence under some of the heads may accumulate beyond the amount of calculations, made at a season when it was found necessary to compose the public mind on the subject of national debt and expenditures. Whether the sum should exceed, or fall short of 45 millions of dollars, yet the foregoing lists will shew the objects of nation expenditure for the current year.

## ALGERINE TRIBUTE.

As this subject has excited much attention, I present the following statement from Mr. Gallatin's late publication.

*The Cost of the Treaty was,*

|                                                                                | Dolls.    | Cts. |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|------|
| To be paid the Dey, - - - - -                                                  | 180,000   |      |
| The Dey's Family. - - - - -                                                    | 60,000    |      |
| Department of Treasury, - - - - -                                              | 40,000    |      |
| Officers, from the chief Aga to<br>the two cooks, - - - - -                    | 65,000    |      |
| Redemption of 100 Captives, - - - - -                                          | 180,000   |      |
| Per Centage on the Captives, - - - - -                                         | 27,000    |      |
| Other expences not enumerated, - - - - -                                       | 90,000    |      |
| Naval stores, stipulated at fifty-seven thousand doll. cost, - - - - -         | 124,413   |      |
| Freight of the same to Algiers, - - - - -                                      | 50,000    |      |
|                                                                                | <hr/>     |      |
|                                                                                | 816,413   |      |
| Frigate Crescent, and some additional expence for delays of payment, - - - - - | 117,727   |      |
| Loss arising from sale of six per cent. Stock, - - - - -                       | 152,186   | 59   |
| Contingencies, - - - - -                                                       | 45,064    | 44   |
|                                                                                | <hr/>     |      |
| Total Expence of the Treaty, - - - - -                                         | 1,131,391 | 3    |
| To this add Annuity for four years (at actual cost) - - - - -                  | 288,493   | 26   |
| Extraordinary Extortions, - - - - -                                            | 80,115    | 71   |
|                                                                                | <hr/>     |      |
| Making in all - - - - -                                                        | 1,500,000 |      |

MILLIONS FOR DEFENCE ; BUT NOT A CENT FOR TRIBUTE !!

## BRITISH TREATY.

|                                                          | Dolls.        | Cts.      |
|----------------------------------------------------------|---------------|-----------|
| To Mr. Jay, for his outfit to make the Treaty, - - - - - | 18,000        |           |
| For his passage to Europe,                               | 3,708         | 51        |
| To pay incidental expences,                              | 10,000        |           |
| To pay in negotiating the Treaty, - - - - -              | 5,000         |           |
| To get papers of captures, -                             | 16,012        | 83        |
|                                                          | <u>52,721</u> | <u>34</u> |

*Abstract of Official Emoluments and Expenditures of certain Officers of the Customs in the United States, from 1st January 1799, to 1st December 1799.*

| Districts.      | 1<br>Names<br>of Officers. | 2<br>Emoluments |      | 3<br>Expenditures. |      | 4. Balance in<br>favor of<br>Officers. |      |
|-----------------|----------------------------|-----------------|------|--------------------|------|----------------------------------------|------|
|                 |                            | Dollars.        | Cts. | Dollars.           | Cts. | Dollars.                               | Cts. |
| Portsmouth,     | Thomas Martin,             | 2,462           | 88   | 625                | 55   | 1,837                                  | 33   |
| Salem,          | Joseph Hiller,             | 4,969           | 11   | 1,448              | 69   | 3,520                                  | 42   |
| Boston,         | Benjamin Lincoln,          | 11,634          | 52   | 4,878              | 76   | 6,755                                  | 86   |
|                 | James Lovell,              |                 |      |                    |      | 4,044                                  | 56   |
|                 | Thomas Melvill,            |                 |      |                    |      | 2,679                                  | 60   |
| New London,     | Jed. Huntington,           | 3,757           | 29   | 136                | 67   | 3,620                                  | 62   |
| New Haven,      | David Austin,              | 2,009           | 26½  | 588                | 9    | 1,421                                  | 17½  |
| Middletown,     | C. Whittelsey,             | 2,913           | 90   | 139                | 79   | 2,744                                  | 11   |
| New-York,       | Joshua Sands,              | 15,336          | 46   | 10,838             | 16   | 4,498                                  | 30   |
|                 | Richard Rogers,            |                 |      |                    |      | 4,963                                  | 67   |
|                 | John Lasher,               |                 |      |                    |      | 3,915                                  | 74   |
| Philadelphia,   | George Latimer,            | 16,834          | 45   | 7,315              | 41   | 6,519                                  | 4    |
| Baltimore,      | Robt. Purviance,           | 16,346          | 79   | 7,661              | 80   | 8,734                                  | 99   |
| Charleston, S C | James Simonds.             | 17,135          | 51   | 7,877              | 83   | 9,257                                  | 67   |

The 2d column shews what we pay to these Officers; the 3d what they charge to the U. S. for clerk-hire, stationary, office-rent and fuel, and other official expences; and the 4th shews what they acknowledge to have received as a net balance for their services in the course of eleven months.

I might add the expenditures of the MINT and the FEDERAL CITY, but enough has been presented to shew, that economy does not characterise our financial operations and federal plans.



## COUNSELLORS AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

(See reference in page 32.)

In Connecticut these officers are chosen by the state at large, not by districts. In both classes nominations are first made, and the men nominated are generally unknown to the freemen: So true is this, that if the name of George Penrose, or Henry H. Childs, were set in the list, they would stand a good chance of being within the first 18 for Congress or the first 20 for Council, though these men do not live in the state. But for the sake of giving permanency to these offices, the names of those who have been in office are generally at the head of the list, and have a far greater chance of gaining the nomination than those near the foot of it. When the votes for counsellors are counted, if the senior counsellor of the last year should be found to have the *least* number within the first 20, yet he will be returned to the freemen as *first* in nomination: whereas he ought to be the *last*. Place him *last* and it would be next to a miracle if he should be appointed. Place him *first* and he will surely be re-elected. If the house of representatives attempt to alter this they are always negatived by the council. The council thus permanently fixed, are associated with the corporation of Yale college, which is generally composed of intelligent ministers of the gospel. This combination of Church and State, furnishes a column of influence which has been hitherto used in favor of the men in place. The right of the people to choose electors has been taken from them. Their right to have the man returned as first in nomination, whom they placed first, has been taken from them: Multitudes of freemen have ceased to attend freemen's meetings, from a persuasion that with their best exertions, they will be unable to effect any thing; and it really is not important for them to re-assert their rights of election, till they

have resolved to break the enchantments and banish the delusions which encompass them.

The delusion above explained, has been brought into partnership with that of depriving the people of choosing electors: both are now made subservient to federal purposes—each strengthens the other and the people are held at arms length from an intelligent exercise of suffrage.

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### THOMAS JEFFERSON.

THIS distinguished citizen is an eminent instance of integrity of character. From early life he has been conspicuous. For years he has sustained all manner of attacks. Now a candidate for the presidency, all these attacks are concentrated in the single object of proving him to be an infidel or an atheist. Some reliance has been placed on flying reports of what he has said; but these are not making any impression. The whole is put in issue on the contents of his book, published in 1781, entitled, '*Notes on Virginia.*'

The following extract is given in order to enable the reader to judge for himself.

#### FIRST IMPRESSION, PAGE 292.

"The errors seem not sufficiently eradicated, that the operations of the mind, as well as the acts of the body, are subject to the coercion of the laws. But our rulers can have authority over such natural rights only as we have submitted to them. The rights of conscience we never submitted, we could not submit. We are answerable for them to our God. The legitimate powers of government extend to such acts only as are injurious to others. But it does me no injury for my neighbour to say there are twenty gods, or no god. It neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg. If it be said his testimony in a court of Justice cannot be relied on, reject

it then, and be the stigma on him. Constraint may make him worse, by making him a hypocrite, but it will never make him a truer man. It may fix him obstinately in his errors, but will not cure them. Reason and free enquiry are the only effectual agents against error. Give a loose to them, they will support the true religion by bringing every false one to their tribunal, to the test of their investigation. They are the natural enemies of error, and of error only. Had not the Roman government permitted free enquiry, *christianity* could never have been introduced. Had not free enquiry been indulged, at the era of the reformation, the corruptions of *christianity* could not have been purged away. If it be restrained now, the present corruptions will be protected and new ones encouraged. Was the government to prescribe to us our medicine and diet, our bodies would be in such keeping as our souls are now. Thus in France the emetic was once forbidden as a medicine, and the potatoe as an article of food. Government is just as infallible too when it fixes systems in physics. Galileo, was sent to the inquisition for affirming that the earth was a sphere: the government had declared it to be as flat as a trencher, and Galileo was obliged to abjure his error. This however at length prevailed, the earth became a globe, and Descartes declared it was whirled round its axis by a vortex. The government in which he lived was wise enough to see that this was no question of civil jurisdiction, or we should all have been involved by authority in vortices. In fact the vortices have been exploded, and the Newtonian principle of gravitation is now more firmly established on the basis of reason, than it would be were the government to step in and make it an article of necessary faith. Reason and experiment have been indulged, and error has fled before them. It is error alone which needs the support of government. Truth can stand by itself. Subject opinion to coercion: whom will you



make your inquisitors? Fallible men; men governed by bad passions, by private as well as public reasons. And why subject it to coercion? To produce uniformity. But is uniformity of opinion desirable? No, more than of face and stature. Introduce the bed of Procrustes then, and as there is danger that the large men may beat the small, make us all of a size, by lopping the former and stretching the latter. Difference of opinion is advantageous in religion. The several sects perform the office of a Censor morum over each other. Is uniformity attainable? Millions of innocent men, women and children, since the introduction of christianity, have been burnt, tortured, fined, imprisoned: yet we have not advanced one inch towards uniformity.—What has been the effect of coercion? To make one half the world fools and the other half hypocrites. To support roguery and error all over the earth. Let us reflect that it is inhabited by a thousand millions of people. That these profess probably a thousand different systems of religion. That ours is but one of that thousand. That if there be but one right, and ours that one, we should wish to see the 999 wandering sects gathered into the fold of truth. But against such a majority we cannot effect this by force. *Reason and persuasion are the only* practicable instruments. To make way for these, free enquiry must be indulged; and how can we wish others to indulge it when we refuse it ourselves. But every state, says an inquisitor, has established some religion. No two, say I, have established the same. Is this a proof of the infallibility of establishments? Our sister states of Pennsylvania and New-York, however, have long subsisted without any establishment at all. *The experiment was new and doubtful when they made it. It has answered beyond conception. They flourish infinitely.* Religion is well supported; of various kinds indeed, but all good enough; all sufficient to preserve peace and order: or if a sect arises whose tenets

would subvert morals, good sense has fair play, and reasons and laughs it out of doors, without suffering the state to be troubled with it. They do not hang more malefactors than we do. They are not more disturbed with religious dissensions. On the contrary, their harmony is unparalleled, and can be ascribed to nothing but their unbounded tolerance, because there is no other circumstance in which they differ from every nation on earth. They have made the happy discovery that the way to silence religious disputes, is to take no notice of them. Let us too give this experiment fair play, and get rid, while we may, of those tyrannical laws. It is true we are as yet secured against them by the spirit of the times, I doubt whether the people of this country would suffer an execution for heresy, or a three years imprisonment for not comprehending the mysteries of the trinity. But is the spirit of the people an infallible, a permanent reliance? Is it government? Is this the kind of protection we receive in return for the rights we give up? Besides, the spirit of the times may alter, will alter. Our rulers will become corrupt, our people careless. A single zealot may commence persecutor, and better men be his victims. It can never be too often repeated, that the time for fixing every essential right on a legal basis is while our rulers are honest and ourselves united. From the conclusion of this war we shall be going down hill. It will not then be necessary to resort every moment to the people for support. They will be forgotten therefore, and their rights disregarded. They will forget themselves, but in the sole faculty of making money, and will never think of uniting to effect a due respect for their rights. The shackles therefore, which shall not be knocked off at the conclusion of this war, will remain on us long, will be made heavier and heavier till our rights shall revive, or expire in a convulsion."

PAGE 300.

"Can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people, that these liberties are of the gift of God?—That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just, that his justice cannot sleep forever," &c.

Is this the language of an atheist?

